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A HISTORY

OF THE

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A HISTORY
OF THE
ARTICLES OF RELIGION.



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A HISTORY
OF THE
ARTICLES OF RELIGION:

TO WHICH IS ADDED
A SERIES OF DOCUMENTS,
FROM A.D. 1536 TO A.D. 1615;
TOGETHER WITH
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.

BY
CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A.,
FELLOW OF ST CATHARINE'S HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
AND WHITEHALL PREACHER.

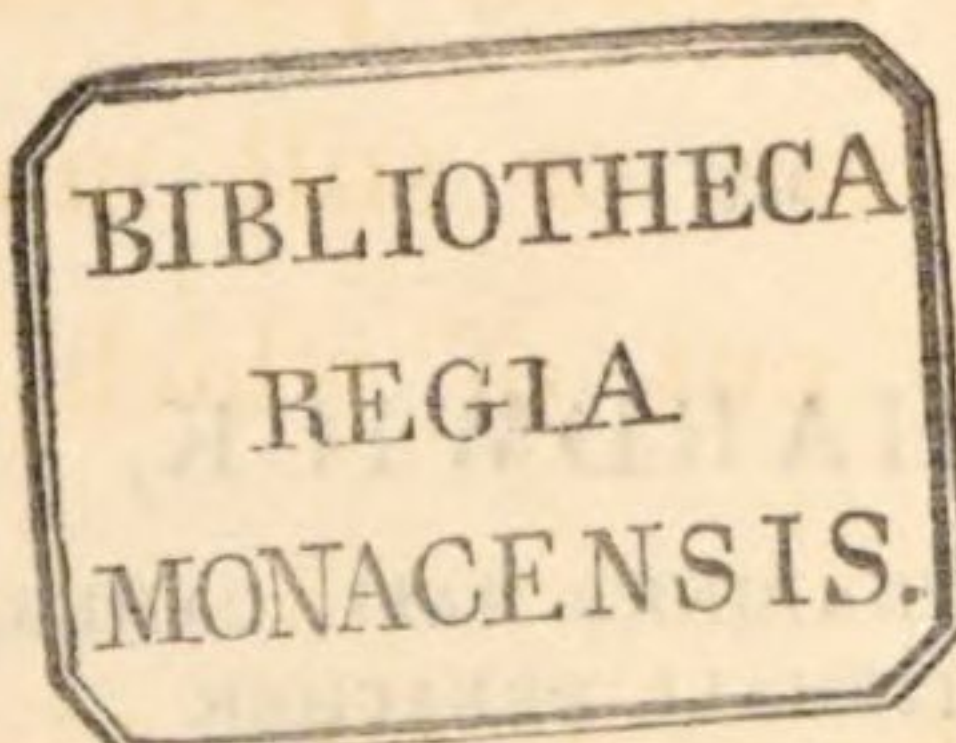
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A HISTORY

OF THE

RELIGION



LONDON: J. & A. RIVINGTON,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE, 1827.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Chapters were drawn up with the idea of contributing, in some measure, to the satisfaction of a want which is felt more especially by Students in the Universities and elsewhere, who are reading for Holy Orders.

Notwithstanding the multitude of authors who continue to enrich our stock of literature by expositions of the *doctrine* of the Articles, there has been no regular attempt to illustrate the framing of the Formulary itself, either by viewing it in connexion with the kindred publications of an earlier and a later date, or still more in its relation to the period out of which it originally grew.

Very much of the material which is wanted has been doubtless gathered to our hands in the course of historical inquiries respecting the rise and progress of the English Reformation: yet as there must always be a large class of readers, anxious to be accurately informed, but precluded

from consulting the voluminous collectors, such as Strype, Le Plat, or Wilkins, it has been thought that a hand-book like the present, if compiled in a fair and discriminating spirit, cannot fail to be as generally useful to the Church as some of the similar attempts to elucidate the Book of Common Prayer.

ST CATHARINE'S HALL, CAMBRIDGE,

March 19, 1851.

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CORRIGENDA.

p. 96, line 2 from bottom, *for* p. 87, note (2), *read* p. 88, note (1).
 p. 174, line 7 „ „ Mant, II. „ Mant, I.
 p. 198, line 4 „ „ it „ is
 p. 201, line 4 „ „ Covocation „ Convocation.

HISTORY OF THE ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFORMATION.

THE ARTICLES OF RELIGION were compiled under the pressure of those memorable circumstances, in which the Church of England found herself at the time of the Reformation.

Their design will, accordingly, be understood in proportion to the clearness of our view respecting the character of the event which brought them into being.

The present is not indeed the place for enlarging upon the details of a question so vast, momentous, and complicated; but no history of the Articles can be regarded as complete, which does not at least enable the reader to occupy the position of the compilers, and from thence to estimate the claim, which has been subsequently exercised by the Church, in requiring the adherence of the clergy to a formulary of that nature.

For this end it will be desirable to establish the two following propositions:

- (1) The universal prevalence of abuses anterior to the Reformation.
- (2) The regularity of the means adopted by the English Church in their correction or abatement.

SECT. 1. *The general cry for Reformation.*

Preliminary
struggles
after reform-
tion.

Effects of the
revival of
learning.

Subordinate
causes.

Generality
of the cry for
reformation.

The early part of the *fifteenth* century was already marked by the struggles of the Church after a revival of religion, and by the gradual concentration of this movement against the corruptions of the Roman court. As an older and purer literature was rapidly diffused on all sides by the agency of the press, it enabled the earnest and critical scholar to detect the spuriousness of a multitude of documents, which had been long respected by the Church as the principal ground of the papal pretensions¹: while a comparison of the actual Christianity with the New Testament and the Primitive Fathers was gradually convincing him of the errors which had been superinduced upon the Gospel, and of the rank and deadly weeds which had mingled with its growth, during the torpor of the Middle Ages.

Causes of a secondary kind were doubtless conspiring, under the guidance of God, to extend this healthy fermentation. The cupidity of laymen was excited by the large possessions of the Church, or rather of the monastic orders: the spread of intelligence among the middle classes increased their impatience of a rule which had too often degenerated into harshness and oppression: and the statesman in particular, galled by the preponderance of the spirituality and their exemptions from his intermeddling or control, was bent upon evoking the secular principle to help in regaining his dominion over the entire body of the people.

When we realize the existence and the strength of these feelings, our surprise must be, that reformation

¹ *e.g.* The fabrication, entitled the 'Gift of Constantine,' exposed by Laurentius Valla. The same searching criticism has subsequently removed the strongest remaining proof of the extreme papal claims, viz. the Spurious

Decretals. They were boldly assailed by the Magdeburg Centuriators, and have since been abandoned by the most respectable writers belonging to the Roman Communion.

had been so long thwarted and delayed, or that when it actually commenced its sanitary progress, so few of its sanguine promoters were driven by the violence of reaction into extremes upon the other side.

There is no greater mistake than to suppose that the reforming spirit was confined, in the fifteenth century, to a single spot or nation, to a few enthusiastic individuals, or to a capricious and indiscriminating class. The highest authorities in Church and State¹ were then equally forward in aiding its propagation, and in deploring the virulence of the disease by which Western Christendom was afflicted.

These questions had been in some measure forced upon their notice by bold and desultory movements in Bohemia² and elsewhere; but principles far more certain of success, because less tainted by revolutionary elements, were equally at work in the great mass of society, paving the way to a gradual restoration of discipline and of morals, to a reorganization of the ecclesiastical system fast dying and decomposing, and ultimately to the recovery of the Primitive Faith, which is embodied in our English Service-Books and the Articles of Religion.

But this general cry for reformation will be most clearly illustrated by a few striking examples from the public documents of the age.

Let us first turn to the council of Pisa, assembled on the 25th of March, 1409, and universally allowed to be one of the most numerous and august of the later ecclesiastical synods. It was convoked, on account of the papal schism, by twenty-two cardinals, who were induced to pledge themselves that whoever was elected pope, the council should not be dissolved until

Council of
Pisa a 're-
forming'
council,
1409.

¹ Even the Spanish cardinal, Ximenes, was affected by this movement. For an account of his ecclesiastical reforms, see Prescott's Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella, II. 481, seqq. ed. 1838.

the time of Hus, Matthias von Janow, confessor to the emperor, Charles IV., had pressed the importance of commencing a reformation. Guerike, Kirchen-geschichte, I. 774, Halle, 1843.

² In the 14th century, before

it had commenced a purification of the Church, 'both in head and members¹.' Their choice fell unanimously upon Peter of Candia (Alexander V.), and one of the first promises which he made after his election, betokened the willingness of the pontiff 'to forward the work of Reformation².'

Other subjects, however, intervened during the sessions of the council; and when several of the prelates had departed, it was judged expedient to proceed no further in the correction of abuses, till the assembling of a future synod.

Council of
Constance
'reforming,'
1414.

The Reformers experienced a similar disappointment, when the next opportunity was offered at Constance (Nov. 5, 1414): for although one of the objects of that council was the 'Reformation of the Church³,' the chief care of the prelates was directed to the healing of the papal schism. Von der Hardt has collected all the sermons delivered on the occasion (during the years 1414—1418); and it is interesting to observe that among others who dwelt upon the urgent necessity of reform, was an Oxford-man, Hottric Abendon⁴. The most cursory perusal of these sermons will demonstrate the general corruption of the Church, and also the very ardent desire which was then manifested in all quarters for an immediate and effectual remedy. At the same synod, Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, exhibited a long catalogue of abuses⁵: and while it must be confessed that few of them proceed further than tem-

¹ Schröckh, Kirchen-geschichte, xxxi. 364, 365, Leipzig, 1800.

² Lenfant, Histoire du Concile de Pise, i. 290, Amst. 1724. See also a very important paper drawn up by our countryman, Richard Ulverston (or Ullerstone), as a memorial for the Bishop of Salisbury at the same council of Pisa. Von der Hardt, Concil. Constant. i. 1126, seqq.

³ Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, i. 46, 373, Amsterdam, 1727.

⁴ His sermon was preached Oct. 29, 1415. For an account of it, see Lenfant, Liv. iv. s. xxxvi.

⁵ In Bp. Jewell's Epistola de Concilio Tridentino (Works, viii. 86, ed. Jelf) the number is stated at *seventy-five*.

poral and disciplinary matters¹, there can be little doubt that the sifting of these would have brought into greater prominence a variety of questions 'de Fide,' with which they are closely intertwined².

It is also remarkable that during the council of Constance (June 15, 1415), a committee was formed under the title of the 'Reformation-College³,' including among its members three cardinals and deputies from each 'nation,' together with divines and civilians.

The plan of a general reformation of the Church suggested at this period, was again agitated on all sides before the assembling of the council of Basle. An instructive proof of the anxiety with which men were looking forward to the redress of their grievances, may be seen in the *Propositiones super acceleratione Generalis Concilii pro reformatione Ecclesiæ*⁴, addressed in the name of our own king (Henry VI.) to pope Martin V. (Nov. 27, 1425). The tone of these papers is dutiful throughout, and were other evidence wanting, they alone would abundantly prove, that even

'Reform-
ation-Col-
lege.'

Anxiety of
the English
for reform-
ation, 1425.

¹ Lenfant, II. 136.

² That such a connexion was felt by many writers of the period, is proved by Schröckh, Kircheng. seit der Reform. I. 100, 101. 'Ther are olde wryt- ynges of certayne lerned men, that haue flouryshed in other nacions which dyd lament the calamities of the church, and touched the selfe same errours which our men do reprove.' The Causes why the Germanes wyll not go nor consente vnto the councel of Mantua; Sowthwarke, 1537, printed by James Nicolson. Cf. Bp. Taylor's Dissuasive, Works, VI. 225, ed. Eden.

³ For a list of their resolutions, see Lenfant, II. 309, seqq.

⁴ Brown's Fasciculus, Præf. pp. x—xxi. The following is a

specimen: 'Profecto, beatissime pater, ni fallitur ipse rex, ni falluntur cum ipso viri doctissimi multumque per V. Sanctit. devotissimi, hac misericordia nullum V. S. offerre potest Deo sacrificium acceptabilius, nullam populo Christiano vobis commisso gratiam conferre potestis ampliorem: sed et nulla laus durabilior, nullumque magis perenne decus vestris operibus virtuosus potest retribui, quam si diebus vestris sanctam hanc Ecclesiæ Deireformationem, concilio Constantiensi solenniter promissam, concorditerque per omnes nationes, in concilio ad Christum (sic) tunc quinquennium celebrando, necessario fieri debere conclusam, adimplere merueritis in populo Dei.' p. xiv.

among those who were most devoted to the support of the papal chair, a feeling had been gradually awakened of the absolute need of amelioration, if the Church was to retain her hold upon the heart and intellect of Europe.

'Reforming'
council of
Basle, 1431.

On the 23rd of July, 1431, the council of Basle was opened: yet here also attention was diverted from the subject of reformation by the angry and protracted disputes respecting the subordination of the pope to the authority of an œcumenical synod. Doubtless this quarrel tended indirectly to strengthen the cause of the Reformers, by lowering the pretensions of the papacy; and when the council at length ventured to pronounce the deprivation of the Roman pontiff, in language no less measured than the fulminations of Luther¹, an earnest was given of the boldness and decision which found utterance a century later in the decree of the English Convocation.

Deprivation
of the pope.

Inaction of
the reform-
ing principle.

During the interval which elapsed from the council of Basle, little or nothing was effected in the removal of corruptions; and we might have thought that the reforming principle had been suppressed, or had sunk down into lethargic despair, were there not some evidence surviving to assure us of the prolongation of the struggle².

Apparent re-
establish-
ment of cor-
ruptions.

On the rising of the council of Lateran, however, in 1517, the unlimited dominion of the papacy was synodically re-established; and hardly one sign ap-

¹ See Schröckh, xxxii. 78—85.

² *e. g.* The Pisan prelates addressed a letter to the emperor Maximilian (Nov. 12, 1511) of which the following is a portion: "Assurge, igitur, Cæsar Optime, adesto, vigila, labitur Ecclesia, opprimuntur boni, impii efferuntur, mergitur justitia, colitur impietas, surgunt in sinumque recipiuntur infideles; qui vero pro Ecclesia consilium capiunt, illi-

que opem et auxilium ferunt, quasi hostes ejiciuntur, opprimuntur, obruuntur. Age, Cæsar Maxime, majestatem tuam appellat ipsa cujus advocatum et protectorem te fecit Omnipotens, Ecclesia videlicet Romana ac universalis. Tuum magna miserabilique voce auxilium rogitat." Apud Richer. Histor. Concil. Lib. iv. Part. i. 121, 122. Colon. 1681.

peared on the surface of the Church to indicate the deep and violent convulsion, which, before the close of the reign of Leo, was to rend Christendom to its centre. The Hussites had dwindled into obscurity; the Lollards and other kindred sects had ceased to provoke the sword of persecution; France also, at one time a formidable malcontent, was on the point of composing her quarrel with the pope, by the abrogation of the 'Pragmatic Sanction;' and if any apprehension was felt by the earnest churchman of the day, it must have arisen from the paganising tendency of religion, and the frequent association of the Greek philosophers with our Lord and His Apostles.

But this lull in the cry for Reformation was at length followed by the storm: men woke still more consciously to the perception of their bondage and the magnitude of the evils by which they were encompassed; and refusing all the opiates administered by fear, would not rest¹ till they had vigorously attempted the purification of the Church.

In this case, as before, the agitation was aroused by the prevailing disciplinary abuses, and continued for a while to attract the co-operation even of the Roman pontiffs. Adrian VI. (the successor of Leo) did not hesitate to declare by his nuncio Chieregati², at the imperial diet of Nuremberg (1522), 'We know that for a long time there have existed many abominations in this holy see, abuses of spiritual things, excesses in the exercise of jurisdiction: all things, in short, have been changed and perverted. Nor need we wonder that corruption has descended from the head to the members, from the supreme pontiff to the inferior prelates. We have all, that is, prelates

The final outbreak of the Reformation.

Reforming character of Adrian VI.

¹ 'When I see His vineyard overgrown with thorns, brambles and weeds, I know that everlasting woe appertaineth to me, if I hold my peace and put not to my hands and tongue to labour in purging His vineyard.' Arch-

bishop Cranmer, Preface to the 'Book on the Sacrament.'

² Instructions to Francisco Chieregati, apud Rainald. Annal. Eccl. Tom. xx. ad an. 1522, n. 66.

and ecclesiastics, turned aside each one to his own way: for none of us have done well, no, not one.'

'Centum
Gravamina'
of the Ger-
man Princes,
1522.

On the same occasion the German princes drew up the memorable document, entitled 'Centum Gravamina adversus sedem Romanam, totumque ecclesiasticum ordinem¹,' than which no stronger evidence can be quoted of the enormities then prevalent in the administration of the Church, and of the fearless manner in which they were assailed by the temporal authorities of the age. At Rome these complaints were naturally construed into a latent sympathy with the school of Luther, to which the pope, as a Dominican divine, was peculiarly opposed; and on that account, among other causes, they were either ill-received or wholly disregarded when at length submitted to his notice. The reforming pontiff himself expired in the course of the following year, and with him all reasonable hope that a satisfactory system of reformation would proceed from the court of Rome.

Yet even there evidence continued to exist of the urgent necessity of change. Long after the Lutheran theology had struck its roots in the heart of Germany, and had thus prejudiced the minds of many against *all* salutary measures², a 'select com-

Reforming
committee
of cardinals,
1538.

¹ See them at length in Brown's Fasciculus, i. 354, seqq., and an abstract in Herbert's 'Henry VIII.' 125, seqq.

² The effect of this feeling was manifest at the council of Trent, where Cardinal Pole in vain warned the assembly not to reject an opinion *solely because it was held by Luther*. Ranke, Hist. of Popes, i. 204, 209 (note); Engl. Transl. 1841. The same fatal prejudice prevented the success of the plan alluded to in the text. When it was discussed in a full consistory, the following opinions of Cardinal

Schomberg prevailed: 'Il ajouta que par-là l'on donneroit lieu aux Luthériens de se vanter d'avoir forcé le Pape à cette réforme; il insista beaucoup à faire voir que ce seroit un pas non seulement pour retrancher les abus, mais aussi pour abolir les bons usages, et pour exposer à un plus grand danger toutes les choses de la religion; parceque la réformation que l'on feroit, étant une espèce d'aveu que les Luthériens avoient eu raison de reprendre les abus auxquels il avoit fallu remédier, serviroit à fomentier tout le reste

mittee of cardinals and other prelates' was appointed in 1538, by pope Paul III. to consider what could possibly be done 'de emendanda Ecclesia¹.' Among the signatures appended to the report are the names of Gaspar Contarini, and our own Reginald Pole. 'It is the will of God,' was their unhesitating language, 'to rescue the tottering and all but subverted Church by your instrumentality, to lend a succouring hand to her ruin, to raise her to the eminence of old, and to retrieve her ancient honour. We have the best reason for this inference respecting the Divine will, since your holiness has instructed us, that, without reference to your own advantage or the advantage of any other, we should point out to you the abuses, yea, rather diseases, by which for a long time the Church of God, and especially this Roman court, have been most grievously afflicted: from which also it has resulted, that as the pestiferous disease became gradually inveterate they have been almost involved in a general ruin.'

Specimen
from their
report to
Paul III.

The evidence supplied by the above extracts might seem enough to demonstrate the prevalence of corruption in the times preceding the Reformation: but since it is not unusual in our day to extol the perfections of the mediæval system, and to decry the movement of the sixteenth century as an outbreak of individual fanaticism, a few passages may be profitably subjoined from distinguished historians and polemics of the later Roman communion.

Let us hear the avowal of the learned cardinal

de leur doctrine.' Sarpi, Hist. du Concile de Trente, i. 151; ed. Courayer.

¹ Consilium Delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum Prælatorum de emendanda Ecclesia, in Le Plat, Monumenta Concil. Trident. ii. 598, Lovan. 1782. One of the first abuses animadverted upon is the unfitness of the

clergy, particularly the priests: 'Hinc innumera scandala, hinc contemptus ordinis ecclesiastici, hinc divini cultus veneratio non tantum diminuta sed etiam prope jam extincta.' It is a significant fact, that this document has been itself thrust into the 'Index Expurgatorius.'

Testimony
of Bellarmine
respecting the
corruption of
the Church.

Bellarmino¹: 'Some years before the rise of the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy, according to the testimony of those who were then alive, there was almost an entire abandonment of equity in the ecclesiastical judgments; in morals no discipline, in sacred literature no erudition, in divine things no reverence; religion was almost extinct.'

Testimony of
Mézeray,

In the same candid spirit is the following statement of de Mézeray, the historiographer of France²: 'As the heads of the Church paid no regard to the maintenance of discipline, the vices and excesses of the ecclesiastics grew up to the highest pitch, and were so public and universally exposed as to excite against them the hatred and contempt of the people. We cannot repeat without a blush the usury, the avarice, the gluttony, the universal dissoluteness of the priests of this period, the licence and debauchery of the monks, the pride and extravagance of the prelates, and the shameful indolence, ignorance and superstition pervading the whole body.... These were not, I confess, new scandals: I should rather say that the barbarism and ignorance of preceding centuries, in some sort, concealed such vices; but, on the subsequent revival of the light of learning, the spots which I have pointed out became more manifest, and as the unlearned who were corrupt could not endure the light through the pain which it caused to their eyes, so neither did the learned spare them, turning them to ridicule and delighting to expose their turpitude and to decry their superstitions.'

of Bossuet,
Schlegel, and
Möhler.

Bossuet³ in the opening statements of his 'Histoire

¹ Concio xxviii. Opp. vi. 296; Colon. 1617.

² Abrege' Chronol. viii. 691, seqq. à Paris, 1681.

³ "Qui me donnera," disoit saint Bernard, "que je voie, avant que de mourir, l'Eglise de Dieu, comme elle étoit dans les premiers jours?" Si ce saint hom-

me a eu quelque chose à regretter en mourant, ç'a été de n'avoir pas vu un changement si heureux. Il a gémi toute sa vie des maux de l'Eglise. . . . Les désordres s'étoient encore augmentés depuis. L'Eglise Romaine, la mère des Eglises, qui durant neuf siècles entiers, en observant

des Variations,' admits the frightful corruptions of the Church for centuries before the Reformation; and he has been followed in our own times by Frederic von Schlegel¹ and Möhler². While all of them are most anxious to prove that the *Lutheran* movement was revolutionary and subversive of the ancient faith, they are constrained to admit the universality of the abuses, which, in the language of Schlegel, 'lay deep, and were ulcerated in their very roots.'

SECT. 2. *The regularity of the English Reformation.*

We may now, therefore, pass to the question more immediately bearing upon our own country: How did the *Church of England* reply to the general clamour of the age for the correction of the prevalent evils?

The principle upon which she proceeded may be briefly stated thus:—A national Church³, through the medium of its representative synod, duly convened with the royal sanction, has inherent authority from its Divine Founder to remove every species of abuse, whether of doctrine or discipline, existing within its own jurisdiction; nay, is absolutely bound by its allegiance to Christ and its regard for the people committed to its charge, to vindicate and extend the truths of the Gospel, as once for all delivered to the saints and taught in the Early Church.

The principle of the English Reformation.

Nor in asserting and acting out this principle did the Church of England exceed the power which had

Antiquity and catholicity of this principle,

la première avec une exactitude exemplaire la discipline ecclésiastique, la maintenoit de toute sa force par tout l'univers, n'étoit pas exempte de mal; et dès le temps du concile de Vienne [1311], un grand évêque chargé par le pape de préparer les matières qui devoient y être traitées, mit pour fondement de l'ouvrage de cette sainte assemblée,

qu'il falloit réformer l'Eglise dans le chef et dans les membres.' Liv. I. § 1.

¹ Philosophy of History, 400, 401, 410, Engl. Transl. 1847.

² Symbolik, II. 31, 32, Engl. Transl.

³ The phrase, 'Ecclesia Anglicana,' is at least as old as Magna Charta.

proved by
examples.

been claimed by domestic synods in the purest ages of the faith. They had always been considered competent to discuss the heresies, errors, and abuses which sprang up in particular Churches. 'This right of provincial synods, that they might decree in causes of faith, and in cases of reformation, where corruptions had crept into the sacraments of Christ, was practised much above a thousand years ago by many, both national and provincial synods. For the council at Rome under pope Sylvester, anno 324, condemned Photinus and Sabellius; (and their heresies were of high nature against the faith). The council of Gangra about the same time [between 325 and 380] condemned Eustathius for his condemning of marriage as unlawful. The first council at Carthage, being a provincial, condemned rebaptization, much about the year 348. The provincial council at Aquileia, in the year 381, in which St Ambrose was present, condemned Palladius and Secundinus, for embracing the Arian heresy. The second council of Carthage handled and decreed the belief and preaching of the Trinity; and this a little after the year 424. The council of Milevis in Africa, in which St Augustine was present, condemned the whole course of the heresy of Pelagius, that great and bewitching heresy, in the year 416. The second council of Orange, a provincial too, handled the great controversies about grace and free-will, and set the Church right in them in the year 444. The third council of Toledo (a national one), in the year 589, determined many things against the Arian heresy, about the very prime articles of faith, under fourteen several anathemas. The fourth council of Toledo did not only handle matters of faith, for the reformation of that people, but even added also some things to the Creed which were not *expressly* delivered in former creeds. Nay, the bishops did not only practise this to condemn heresies in national and provincial synods, and so reform these several places and the Church itself by parts, but they did openly challenge this as their right

and due, and that without any leave asked of the see of Rome; for in this fourth council of Toledo they decree, "That if there happen a cause of faith to be settled, a general, that is, a national synod of all Spain and Galicia shall be held thereon;" and this in the year 643: where you see it was then catholic doctrine in all Spain that a national synod might be a competent judge in a cause of faith. And I would fain know what article of faith doth more concern all Christians in general, than that of *Filioque*? and yet the Church of Rome herself made that addition to the Creed without a general council....And if this were practised so often and in so many places, why may not a national council of the Church of England do the like¹?

The first act, which the recovery of these principles accomplished, was the rejection of the papal supremacy. Originally independent of the Latin Church, this country had been gradually drawn into a comparative subjugation. The Roman element in our Anglo-Saxon Christianity had overpowered the influence exerted by the surviving British communion and the missionaries from Ireland; till at length a considerable degree of deference, and even of servility, was manifested by the king, the clergy, and the people, towards the dominant court of Rome. Anterior to the Conquest the feeling was that of gratitude and affection, such as we may now trace in the language of the American Church with regard to the Church of England: but when the papal pretensions had grown into the form which they assumed under Gregory VII. and his successors,—being developed from a primacy of order into a supremacy of power,—the tone of the English was frequently altered, and symptoms appear in their intercourse with the popes, of the warm and unflinching nationality which effected the Reformation. From the time of the dispute on the subject of investitures,—when 'the king and his nobles, the

The papal
supremacy.

Its gradual
encroach-
ments.

¹ Archbp. Laud, against Fisher, Sect. 24, 126, 127, Oxf. 1839.

bishops also, and others of inferior rank, were so indignant as to assert that rather than surrender the privileges of their forefathers, they would depart from the Roman Church¹—till the final struggle in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the encroachments of the pope had been calling forth a spirited opposition; and if we allow that his interference was in some cases salutary, and as such cordially desired by a large body of the nation, it is impossible to study the civil enactments of the period², without perceiving the growth of that deep exasperation, which eventually repelled the papal aggressions, and secured the freedom of the Church.

Forms which
the papal su-
premacy as-
sumed.

These aggressions, separately attempted after the time of the Norman Conquest, and either absolutely denied or impatiently conceded, were made up of the following particulars :

- (1) A judicial power in matters ecclesiastical, or cases of appeal.
- (2) A power of granting licences and dispensations.
- (3) A liberty to send legates into England and to hold legatine courts.
- (4) A power of granting investiture of bishops, of confirming episcopal elections, and of distributing ecclesiastical patronage.
- (5) A privilege of receiving first-fruits, the tenths of English benefices, and the goods of the clergy who died intestate.

The motives of the monarch, in whose reign our country was providentially relieved from these foreign

¹ Archbp. Anselm's Letter to Paschal II.; in Twysden's Vindication, 16, new edit. The constitutions of Clarendon 'were an actual subversion, as far as they went, of the papal policy and system of hierarchy introduced by Gregory VII.' Turner, Middle Ages, I. 246, ed. 1830; and

at one time there was a general idea that Henry II. would have anticipated the resistance of his eighth namesake, 259.

² See a list of *protestant* acts during the Middle Ages, in Fullwood, Roma Ruit, chapters VIII.—XIII.

encroachments, have no necessary connexion with the English Reformation. The Church herself, duly convened and canonically represented, was the real judge of the questions at that time mooted in her communion: and, after examining them severally upon their distinctive merits, pronounced her authoritative sentence, as similar points had been uniformly decided by the Church of the earliest ages. For example, in the year 1534, after a few limiting statutes had been carried in parliament, it was solemnly proposed to the bishops and clergy, in the provincial synods of Canterbury and York, *Whether the bishop of Rome has in Holy Scripture any greater jurisdiction, within the kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop?*—and the question was answered in the negative with only four dissentient voices. In this judgment the universities, after five weeks of deliberation, also cordially acquiesced, and were followed by the cathedral chapters and the various conventual bodies; so that, excepting the single bishop of Rochester, the votes of the ecclesiastical authorities were all unanimously recorded against the pretensions of the Roman pontiff¹.

The course
adopted in
its rejection.

The ground, upon which this decision was rested, will be seen in the following extracts from an almost contemporary document. They prove that the English divines of the period were actuated by no spirit of revolution, but proceeded with their critical task upon the principles which they had drawn from the study of Christian antiquity.

Reasons of
that course,

‘I believe that these particular Churches, in what place of the world soever they be congregated, be the very parts, portions or members of this catholic and universal Church. And that between them there is indeed no difference in superiority, pre-eminence or authority, neither that any one of them is head or sovereign over the other; but that they be all equal in power and dignity, and be all grounded and

from the ‘In-
stitution of a
Christian
Man,’ 1537.

¹ Burnet, Hist. Reform. III. 158, 159, Oxf. 1816; Records, No. 26, 27: Rymer's Fœdera, XIV. 487—527, ed 1728; Wilkins, Concil. III. 771.

builded upon one foundation. . . . And therefore I do believe that the Church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called the catholic Church, but only a particular member thereof, and cannot challenge or vindicate of right, and by the Word of God, to be head of this universal Church, or to have any superiority over the other Churches of Christ which be in England, France, Spain, or in any other realm, but that they be all free from any subjection unto the said Church of Rome, or unto the minister or bishop of the same. And I believe also that the said Church of Rome, with all the other particular Churches in the world, compacted and united together, do make and constitute but one catholic Church or body. . . . And therefore I protest and knowledge that in my heart I abhor and detest all heresies and schisms whereby the true interpretation and sense of Scripture is or may be perverted. And do promise, by the help of God, to endure unto my life's end in the right profession of faith and doctrine of the catholic Church¹.

If it be alleged that the rejection of the papal supremacy is here almost exclusively based upon a theory of the Church, the following passage from the same book will exhibit the historical reasons which influenced the English synod:

'As for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy. Sith the which time he hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given unto him by the consent of the emperors, kings and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general² councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtilty and craft, and specially

¹ Institution of a Christian Man; A.D. 1537; 'Formularies of Faith,' 55—57, Oxf. 1825.

² This epithet was applied at

the time of the Reformation to other synods besides those which were strictly *œcumenical*. Cf. Art. xxi.

by colluding with great kings and princes; sometime training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holiness and sanctimony, and sometime constraining them by force and tyranny: whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and arose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be heads, and to put laws by their own authority, not only unto all other bishops within Christendom, but also unto the emperors, kings, and other the princes and lords of the world, and that under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the gospel¹: wherein the said bishops of Rome do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ's word, but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive Church, and also do manifestly violate as well the holy canons made in the Church immediately after the time of the Apostles, as also the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the Catholic Church, assembled in the first general Councils: and finally they do transgress their own profession, made in their creation. For all the bishops of Rome always, when they be consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general Councils, among the which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same be begun, and that by the bishops of the same province; and that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction out of his own diocese or province. And divers such other canons were then made and confirmed by the said Councils, to repress and take away out of the Church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the

Concilium
tertium Car-
thaginense,
cap. 26.

¹ For this reason the point 1534 was respecting the *Scripturalness* of the papal claims.
brought before Convocation in

Gregorius,
lib. iv.
Epistolarum,
indictione 13,
epist. 23.

same. And we find that divers good fathers, bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea and abhor, (as a thing clean contrary to the Gospel, and the decrees of the Church,) that any bishop of Rome, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him the title and name of "the universal bishop," or of "the head of all priests," or of "the highest priest," or any such like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, neither in Scripture, neither in the writings of any authentic doctor or author of the Church, being within the time of the apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction between the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves; but that they were all equal in power, order, authority and jurisdiction. And that there is now, and sith the time of the apostles, any such diversity or difference among the bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive Church, for the conservation of good order and unity of the Catholic Church; and that either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the princes and civil powers for the time ruling¹.

Restorative
aim of the
Reformers.

This subject was authoritatively resumed in the 'Necessary Doctrine for any Christian Man,' A.D. 1543, and discussed in the same spirit, with the aid of still more historical precedents against the usurpations of the papacy². The whole drift of the arguments employed convince us, that the aim of the Reformers was not to establish a new system of their own, but to re-establish one which they saw falling to decay,—not to depart from the communion of the rest of catholic Christendom, but to suppress the unlawful jurisdiction of a proud and daring pontiff,—and by following in the steps of the primitive Church, to regain for the whole of the English nation many pure and practical elements of the faith, which in the lapse of the Middle Ages had

¹ Ibid. 117, 118.

² 282—286.

been gradually obscured, distorted, or denied by the dominant class of schoolmen¹. This point has been so frequently urged with regard to the Church of England, that the production of further evidence is altogether superfluous²: but the reader will be interested to find the same principles no less strongly affirmed in a document drawn up by the Lutheran states (March 5, 1537), and immediately translated into English: 'For the sklaunder is moost fals, (they write,) which our aduersaries do oftentymes cast forth, that errours somtyme condemned are scattred abroad and olde heresydes renewed of our men; and therefore they denye that ther is any nede of tryall. Nother is it onye harde thyng to refute this sklaunder, our Confession³ once shewed fourth. For thys pure doctryne of the Gospel whiche we haue embraced

¹ See Field, 'Of the Church,' I. 165 seqq. and especially Appendix to Book III., 'wherein it is clearely proved that the Latine, or West Church in which the Pope tyrannized, was, and continued a true, orthodox, and protestant Church, and that the devisers and maintainers of Romish errors and superstitious abuses, *were only a faction in the same*, at the time when Luther, not without the applause of all good men, published his propositions against the prophane abuse of papal indulgences.' II. 1—387, ed. E. H. S. 1849.

² e. g. 'Reformatio non aurum abstulit, sed purgavit a luto: non vel fundamenta evertit, vel parietes diruit aut tecta, sed vepres solum excidit, et fimum ejecit: non carnem, ossa aut sanguinem corpori detraxit, sed saniem et humores pestife-

ros expulit. Aut si clarius hæc dici velis: quicquid aureum, solidum, fundamentale, quicquid catholicum et antiquum est, retinuit: ea solum quæ internis sordibus vestra, lutea, morbida, et fundamento assuta, quicquid novum, hæreticum, idololatricum, aut antichristianum erat, amputavit. De substantia antiquæ et catholicæ fidei, nihil quidquam a nobis immutatum: quicquid tale est amplectimur ambabus ulnis, exosculamur, tuemur.' Crakanthorp, *Defensio Eccl. Anglican.* 601, ed. Oxon. 1847.

³ The allusion is to the Augsburg Confession, where among other statements of a like character, it is declared: "Hæc fere summa est doctrinæ apud nos, in qua cerni potest, nihil inesse, quod discrepet a Scripturis, vel ab ecclesia Catholica, vel ab ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex Scriptoribus nota est (*Germ.*

is, wythout doute, euen the verye consente of the catholyke Church of Christ: as the testimonies of the olde Church and of holye fathers do euydentlye declare. For we do not receaue or approue any wycked opynions, or such as fyghte with the consent of the holy fathers; yee rather in many artikles we do renew the teachynges of the old synodes and fathers, which the latter age had put out of the way, and for them had geuen forth other false and conterfette doctrynes, wyth the which oure aduersaryes do shamefully fyghte wyth the judgements of the fathers and authoryte of the synodes¹.

aus der Väter Schrift). Confessio August. Pars I. § XXII.: Libri Symbol. Eccl. Lutheran. 25, ed. Francke, 1847.

¹ The Causes why the Germanes will not go, nor consente

vnto that Councel, &c. (the proposed synod of Mantua) A. v. Sowthwarke, 1537. The original is printed in Le Plat, Monumenta, II. 577.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.

THE observations at the close of the foregoing chapter have enabled us in some measure to anticipate the design of the first Reforming Confession, compiled in the spring of 1530, and presented at the diet of Augsburg to the emperor Charles V. It was this very remarkable document which suggested the idea so generally adopted in the middle of the sixteenth century; and had no further affinity subsisted between it and the ARTICLES OF RELIGION, it would at least have demanded some cursory notice.

The Augsburg Confession.

But there is a far more imperative reason for embracing the history of the Augsburg Confession within the scope of the present volume. It is intimately connected with the English Reformation; and in addition to the influence which it cannot fail to have exerted by its rapid circulation in this country, it contributed directly, in no inconsiderable degree, to the construction of the public Formularies of Faith approved by the Church of England. The XIII. Articles, drawn up, it would seem, in 1538, were almost entirely based upon the language of the Germanic Confession; while the same sort of respect is no less apparent in the Articles of Edward VI., and consequently in those¹ which are now binding on the whole body of the clergy.

Its intimate connexion with England.

On this account, therefore, it is necessary to understand the position of the Wittenberg Reformers in the year 1530, when they laid a formal record of their opinions before the imperial States.

Condition of the German Reformers in 1530.

Since the time of the diet of Worms in 1521, the

¹ The amount of this influence will be exhibited in the Appendix.

Divergence
of the
Lutheran
and Zwin-
glian
opinions.

movement, of which Luther was the ruling spirit, had become far more moderate in its tone and far more purely theological. Its earlier vehemence had been expended in decrying the disciplinary abuses of the age, and the extravagant claims of the Roman pontiff: it had afterwards entered into a partial union with the bolder followers of Zwingli, and was accordingly in danger of imbibing his strong political maxims, as well as some portion of his peculiar theology: but the conference at Marburg¹ in 1529 was conclusive, both to themselves and others, that the two schools of foreign reformers were essentially divergent, and that however warmly they agreed in protesting against errors maintained in the Church at large, it was impossible to bring them, either by means of persuasion or of pressure, to subscribe the same standard of faith.

Ranke supplies an epitome of the two contending factions in the masterly contrast he has drawn between the character and feelings of their leaders: 'Whereas Luther wished to retain everything in the existing ecclesiastical institutions that was not at variance with the express words of Scripture, Zwingli was resolved to get rid of everything that could not be maintained by a direct appeal to Scripture. Luther took up his station on the ground already occupied by the Latin Church; his desire was only to purify, to put an end to the contradictions between the doctrines of the Church and the Gospel. Zwingli, on the other hand, thought it necessary to restore, as far as possible, the primitive and simplest condition of the Church; he aimed at a complete revolution².'

¹ Ranke, Reformation, III. 189 seqq. Engl. Trans. 1847.

² Ibid. III. 86, 87. 'The reformers [i. e. the Zwinglians, as opposed to the Lutherans] would have nothing but the simple Word. The same end was proposed in all the practices of the

church. A new form of baptism was drawn up, in which all the additions "which have no ground in God's Word" were omitted. The next step was the alteration of the mass. Luther had contented himself with the omission of the words relating

This contrast was strongly imprinted on the minds of the Wittenberg reformers, when they proceeded in March, 1530, to frame the Augsburg Confession.

The idea of such an apology was conceived by Pontanus (or Brück), the chancellor of Saxony¹; and with the consent of his master, the elector John, the divines took as the basis of their work a series of somewhat older Articles, which had been carefully drawn up in the year preceding. This document was known by the name of the 'Schwabach Articles,' where it had been exhibited, Oct. 16, 1529, as the preliminary step of a contemplated alliance with the rest of the foreign reformers. It was in its turn no more than the corrected version of a test which had been also offered to the Zwinglian delegates, in the previous meeting at Marburg² (Oct. 3, 1529).

Elements
out of which
the Augsburg
Confession
was framed.

The Articles are seventeen in number³, and manifest in the whole of their structure the deep and fundamental separation, which was then thought to have grown between the Lutheran body and those who

'Schwabach
Articles,'
1529.

to the doctrine of sacrifice, and with the introduction of the sacrament in both kinds. Zwingli established a regular love-feast (Easter, 1525).' p. 88.

¹ The following was the advice given by Pontanus (March 14, 1530): 'Dieweil Kais. Mt. Ausschreiben vermag, dass eins Itzlichen Opinion und Meinung gehört soll werden [i. e. at the ensuing Diet], will uns fur gut ansehen, dass solche Meinung, darauf unsers Theils bisanher gestanden und verharret, ordentlich in Schriften zusammen gezogen werden mit gründlicher Bewährung derselbigen ans göttlicher Schrift, damit man solchs in Schriften furzutragen hat, wo man den Ständen auch die

Prediger in den Handelungen die Sachen furzutragen lassen je nit würde verstatten wollen.' Förstemann, Urkunden-buch zu d. Gesch. d. Reichstages zu Augsburg in J. 1530, i. 42 seqq. It is clear from the imperial edict, as well as from other sources, that the Augsburg Confession was *not meant to be a complete system of doctrine*, but only an apologetical statement of the Lutheran position with respect to the different subjects actually in dispute: cf. Guerike, Kircheng. ii. 174 (note).

² Ranke, Reform. iii. 197.

³ See them at length in Weber, Kritische Gesch. der Augsb. Conf. i. App. 2.

persisted in their attachment to the rival school of Zwingli.

The Augs-
burg Confes-
sion strictly
'Lutheran.'

We have 'no reason, therefore, to anticipate that when Melancthon was deputed to remodel the 'Schwabach Articles,' and to introduce some additional matter respecting ecclesiastical abuses, he was acting in any way as the representative of more than his own communion; and after perusing the result of his labours as they stand in the Augsburg Confession, the inference which might have been drawn from the circumstances of the times, is entirely supported by internal testimony. That document is exclusively *Lutheran*, opposed to the Zwinglian tenets upon every controverted point, and distinguished by the same cordial respect for the authority of the past, which we trace in a greater or less degree among all the writings of Melancthon. In gentleness of tone, in gracefulness of language, and in general perspicuity and arrangement, it is also highly characteristic of the compiler: while in substance it is careful to adhere as closely as the truth permitted to the existing standards of Western Christendom. Melancthon seems to have felt distinctly that he was treading in the steps of St Augustine and the rest of the Early Fathers; his protests were, accordingly, confined to a number of modern innovations by which the schoolmen had been gradually corrupting the faith and discipline of the Church.

Manner of
its com-
position.

A rough draught of this venerable Confession was first made in Latin, and sent (May 11) to Luther at Coburg, with a request from the Saxon elector, that he would revise it with the greatest caution. His answer, which is dated May 15, expresses the satisfaction with which he had perused the production of his colleague. 'I have read over Mr Philip's Apology (the original name of the *Confession*): it pleases me very much. I know not how to improve or alter anything, if that indeed would not be unbecoming, for I cannot tread so gently and softly. Christ our Lord

grant that it may bring forth abundant fruit, even as we hope and pray¹.'

A further revision by Melancthon and others, especially by the chancellor Pontanus, was not terminated until the 31st of May², when a copy of the Latin Articles³ was placed in the hands of the Lutheran princes then present at the diet. To the effect of the criticism which it received during this interval may be attributed some portion of the various readings which appear in the earlier editions⁴. The work of revision was still proceeding when a message from the emperor informed the Lutherans that he would hear their Apology on the 23rd of June, and on that day a German version, also from the pen of Melancthon, was read aloud to the assembled States in the chapter-room of the episcopal palace⁵. This copy as well as the Latin original was then delivered to the emperor, having previously received the signatures of the elector and the other members of the diet, who were in favour of the Lutheran cause⁶.

Presented to
the emperor,
June 23, 1530.

After the above description of the circumstances which attended its origin and presentation, we may now proceed to a review of some of its principal contents. It consists of two parts, the first having reference to matters of faith, and the second to ecclesiastical or disciplinary abuses. The former are distributed into twenty-two articles, and the latter into seven.

Its contents.

¹ Guerike, II. 172.

⁵ Ranke, III. 277.

² Libri Symbolici Eccl. Lutheran. ed. Francke, Lips. 1847, Prolegom. XVI. note (10).

³ Melancthon next undertook the German version, which was completed on the 14th of June. Ibid. XVII.

⁴ See Ranke, III. 274; Guerike II. 176. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the emperor, the Confession passed through seven editions in the course of 1530. Francke, ubi supra, XXIV.

⁶ The names stand in the following order: John, the elector of Saxony; George, the markgrave of Brandenburg; Ernest, duke of Lüneburg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; John Frederick, electoral prince of Saxony; Francis, duke of Lüneburg; Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt; the senate and magistracy of Nuremberg; and the senate of Reutlingen.

Part I.
Art. I.

The first article is entitled 'De Deo,' and in it the Lutherans express their entire acceptance of the Nicene statements respecting the Unity of the Divine Essence, and the Trinity of Divine Persons. They also condemn all the heresies by which this doctrine had been impugned both in ancient and modern times¹.

Art. II.

The second article treats 'de peccato originis,' and affirms that all men naturally sprung from Adam are born in sin, and that this original disease (*morbus seu vitium*) is sin, entailing eternal death on all who are not born again (*per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum*). This article also condemns the Pelagians and others².

Art. III.

The third article reiterates the received language of the Creeds respecting the incarnation of our Lord; His life, death, resurrection, and ascension, with all their saving fruits; adding (in the German copy of the Confession) a condemnation of all heretics who impugn these articles of the faith.

Art. IV.

The fourth section approaches the doctrine of justification, declaring that men are not made acceptable in the sight of God by any works or merits of their own, but are justified gratuitously for the sake of Christ through faith (*propter Christum per fidem*).

Art. v.

The fifth article, 'de ministerio ecclesiastico,' affirms that the Holy Ghost, who produces faith, is given by means of the Word and Sacraments (*tanquam per instrumenta*). It also condemns the Anabaptists and others, who were circulating a different tenet.

Art. VI.

The sixth article, 'de nova obedientia,' maintains that faith must result in good works (*debeat bonos fructus parere*), but denies that we may hope by their means to deserve justification before God. It appeals,

¹ Some of the 'neoterici' here condemned were Servetus and his party, whose opinions were then spreading in Germany. Francke, 13, note 7.

² In the 'Apologia Confessionis,' 57, ed. Francke, Melancthon specifies 'scholastici doctores.'

in proof of this statement, to the language of Holy Scripture, and to ancient ecclesiastical writers.

The seventh article, admitting that the Church is Art. VII. one, holy, and perpetual, defines it as a congregation of saints (or of all the faithful), in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the sacraments rightly administered: adding, that these two conditions are enough for the true unity of the Church.

The eighth article explains, that notwithstanding Art. VIII. the former definition, there are hypocrites always mingling in the communion of the faithful. It affirms also, that the Word and Sacraments are efficacious, even when administered by evil men (*propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi*), and condemns the Donatists and others¹ by whom this doctrine had been impugned.

The ninth article, 'de Baptismo,' declares that Art. IX. this sacrament is necessary to salvation, that the grace of God is offered by it (*per baptismum offeratur*), and that children ought to be baptized, in order to be thereby admitted into the favour of God. It also repudiates the errors of the Anabaptists.

The tenth article, 'de Cœna Domini,' declares Art. X. that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present (*vere adsint*²), and are distributed to the recipients. It also censures those who maintained a contradictory tenet.

The eleventh article, 'de Confessione,' declares Art. XI. that private absolution ought to be retained, but denies that the enumeration of all sins is to be regarded as essential.

The twelfth article, 'de Pœnitentia,' affirms the Art. XII. remissibility of sin committed after baptism, and defines penitence as consisting of contrition and faith together with the fruits of penitence, *viz.* good works. It condemns the Anabaptists, who asserted that persons once justified could not lose the Holy Spirit;

¹ The followers of Wiclif were included; see Apol. Confess. 149.

² *Germ.* wahrhaftiglich unter Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sey.

the Novatians, and other kindred sects; and repudiates the opinions then current respecting the merit of human satisfactions.

Art. XIII.

The thirteenth article, 'de usu sacramentorum,' teaches that sacraments are not only badges (notæ) of our Christian calling, but rather signs and testimonies of God's will towards us, ordained for the purpose of exciting and confirming faith. It also condemns those, who maintained that sacraments justify 'ex opere operato'¹, and neglected to teach that faith is required to the profitable use of sacraments.

Art. XIV.

The fourteenth article, 'de ordine ecclesiastico,' simply states that no one ought to preach or administer sacraments who is not rightly called (rite vocatus).

Art. XV.

The fifteenth article, 'de ritibus ecclesiasticis,' affirms that festivals and other similar institutions, though not essential to salvation, are to be retained, so long as they be celebrated without sin, and conduce to tranquillity and good order in the Church. It adds a protest against the error that human traditions have any virtue in meriting the grace of God, or in making satisfaction for sins.

Art. XVI.

The sixteenth article, 'de rebus civilibus,' vindicates the authority of the civil powers from the lax and revolutionary opinions of the Anabaptists, declaring also the lawfulness of war, of property, of oaths, and marriage.

Art. XVII.

The seventeenth article, 'de Christi reditu ad judicium,' affirms the doctrine of the resurrection and final judgment, the everlasting happiness of the holy, and the endless misery of wicked men and devils. It condemns the Anabaptists, who maintained that future punishment would be finite, and those also who were

¹ This phrase is explained in Apol. Confessionis, 'quod sacramenta non ponenti obicem conferant gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis,' 203. (cf. the ninth English Article

of 1538, Append. No. II.) The further explanations of Luther with respect to the question of *infant* baptism may be seen at length in his 'Catechismus Major,' Part. IV. s. 41 seqq.

circulating 'Judaical opinions' respecting a reign of the faithful upon earth before the resurrection.

The eighteenth article, 'de libero arbitrio,' while Art. xviii. admitting that the human will has a certain liberty of choice and action¹, denies that man can work out spiritual obedience, or things pleasing to God, without the grace of the Holy Spirit. It bases this doctrine upon the language of St Augustine, and condemns the Pelagians and others who overrated the powers of nature.

The nineteenth article, 'de causa peccati,' declares Art. xix. that the cause of sin is to be found in the will of the ungodly, viz. of the devil and wicked men, which has turned itself away from God.

The twentieth article, 'de fide et bonis operibus,' Art. xx. is a detailed answer to the objection that the Lutherans discouraged or prohibited good works². It affirms, chiefly on the authority of St Paul, and in the language of St Augustine, that we are received into the favour of God solely for the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, as opposed to any merits of our own, that we obtain this gratuitous justification by faith only (*tantum fide, or fiducia*), and that as the result of this acceptance and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, we put on new affections and are fruitful in good works.

The twenty-first article, 'de cultu sanctorum,' Art. xxi.

¹ 'Ad efficiendam civilem justitiam (*Germ.* äusserlich ehrbar zu leben) et diligendam res rationi subjectas.'

² It begins by noticing an improvement in the general language of the clergy: 'De quibus rebus olim parum docebant concionatores; tantum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant, ut certas ferias, certa jejunia, fraternitates, peregrinationes, cultus sanctorum, rosaria, monachatum et similia. *Hæc*

adversarii nostri admoniti nunc dediscunt, nec perinde prædicant hæc inutilia opera, ut olim. Præterea incipiunt fidei mentionem facere, de qua olim mirum erat silentium: docent nos non tantum operibus justificari, sed conjungunt fidem et opera, et dicunt, nos fide et operibus justificari. Quæ doctrina tolerabilior est priore, et plus afferre potest consolationis, quam vetus ipsorum doctrina.'

while it recognizes the duty of imitating the good examples of the saints, affirms, as the doctrine of Holy Scripture, that Christ is the one Mediator, Priest, and Intercessor, and on that ground prohibits the invocation of any other.

Art. xxii.

The twenty-second article concludes the First Part of the Confession, by declaring that there is nothing in the doctrine of the Lutheran body which differs either from the Scriptures, or the ancient Church. The dissension (it goes on to state) rose out of certain abuses (*de quibusdam abusibus*) which had crept into the churches without competent authority. The promoters of the German Reformation felt it their duty to interpose and correct these growing evils, but had no wish to set up a new standard of doctrine, or even to abolish the ancient usages of the Church when freed from their abuses.

Part II.

The corruptions to which the Lutherans had alluded form the subject of the Second Part of their Confession.

Art. i.

The first article, '*de utraque specie*,' is occupied in vindicating the right of the layman to communion in both kinds. This right is based upon the clear language of Holy Scripture and the practice of the Early Church.

Art. ii.

The second article, '*de conjugio sacerdotum*,' relates to the many scandals which arose from the compulsory celibacy of the clergy. It asserts the honour of the married state, and quotes St Cyprian as maintaining that even those who have promised to live single are not absolutely bound by their promise.

Art. iii.

The third article is entitled '*de missa*.' It begins by declaring that 'the mass' had not been abolished by the Lutherans, but was performed by them with the greatest reverence¹, only with a slight change in the ceremonial, and the addition of some German hymns for the instruction of the people. The 'private masses' had, however, been discontinued on account

¹ '*Falso accusantur ecclesiæ Retinetur enim missa apud nos nostræ, quod missam aboleant. et summa reverentia celebratur.*

of the profane and mercenary spirit in which they were too generally celebrated. The 'opinion' was repelled which taught men to regard the mass as a work which effaces the iniquities both of the living and the dead, 'ex opere operato;' and great stress was laid upon the Eucharist as a *communion*, after the example of the ancient Church.

The fourth article, 'de Confessione,' while denying Art. IV. the necessity of a particular enumeration of sins, declares that confession had not been abolished by the Lutherans, but was positively enjoined as a prerequisite to participation in the eucharist. They taught also that absolution is a very great benefit (*maximum beneficium*).

The fifth article, 'de discrimine ciborum et traditionibus,' affirms that an opinion had prevailed in all quarters respecting the efficacy of these human ordinances in making satisfaction for sin, and proceeds to recount the disastrous consequences which resulted from such an error. The Lutherans, however, did not prohibit individual discipline and mortification of the flesh, and retained all the traditional usages which conduced to a seemly performance of divine service, though refusing to them any meritorious value. Art. V.

The sixth article, 'de votis monachorum,' maintains that in the time of St Augustine religious associations were purely voluntary, and that vows were only introduced as discipline was corrupted. It refutes the idea that the monastic is the highest order of Christian life; and after vindicating the dignity of marriage, declares the dangerous effects of confiding in recluse habits as the ground of some special sanctity. Art. VI.

The seventh article, 'de potestate ecclesiastica,' Art. VII. distinguishes between the functions of the spiritual and civil authorities, about which the disputes had been long and vehement. To the former, as the representatives of the apostles, it assigns the preaching of the word, the power of the keys, and the administration of the sacraments: while the secular princes

are engaged in protecting the persons and property of their subjects, and in illustrating the ordinance of God under a very different aspect. It ends by declaring that the Lutherans had no wish to wrest the spiritual power out of the hands of the lawful bishops, but that a schism was likely to ensue, if these latter persisted in their ritual demands with the same imperious rigour.

In the 'Epilogue,' subjoined to the Confession, it is stated, that the above are 'the principal articles which seemed to be the subjects of controversy;' that a longer list of abuses might have been drawn up, extending to the question of indulgences, pilgrimages, &c.; but that the Lutherans had acted mainly on the defensive, confining themselves to matters respecting which they were constrained to speak out distinctly, lest a handle should be left for the prevalent imputation, that they had accepted as part of their doctrine and ceremonial what was contrary to Scripture or to the Catholic Church¹.

Desire of the
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The abstract here given of the Augsburg Confession is enough to convince us that in presenting it to the emperor, the Reformers indicated a strong desire to keep within the boundaries of the Latin Church, and to approximate as closely as possible to the generally received doctrines². Their moderation is pecu-

¹ 'Tantum ea recitata sunt, quæ videbantur necessaria dicenda esse, ut intelligi possit in doctrina ac cæremoniis apud nos nihil esse receptum contra scripturam aut ecclesiam catholicam, quia manifestum est, nos diligentissime cavisse, ne qua nova et impia dogmata in ecclesias nostras serperent.' 50.

² Ranke, Reform. III. 270, 271. 'They wished for nothing but peace and toleration; they thought they had proved that their doctrines had been un-

justly condemned and denounced as heretical. Luther brought himself to entreat his old antagonist, the Archbishop of Mainz, who now seemed more peaceably disposed, to lay this to heart: Melancthon addressed himself in the name of the princes to the legate Campeggi, and conjured him not to depart from the moderation which he thought he perceived in him, for that every fresh agitation might occasion an immeasurable confusion in the Church.' 276.

liarly discernible in the silence which they maintained respecting the encroachment of the papal power, as well as respecting the scandalous abuses which had called forth their original protest. They were now manifestly anxious to justify their own ecclesiastical position, to keep clear of the Zwinglian and Anabaptist reformers, and to win from the emperor and the Romish states at least a plenary toleration, until their grievances could be authoritatively redressed by the meeting of a general council¹.

Yet the gentleness of Melancthon and his colleagues was very far from conciliating their opponents. Some of the more violent advocated an immediate appeal to the sword, in execution of the edict which had been promulgated against Luther at Worms: but the counsels of a party somewhat more moderate and forbearing were at last adopted by the emperor. At their suggestion, a committee of divines, then present at Augsburg, including Eck, Faber, and Cochläus, was appointed to draw up a formal confutation of the articles recently submitted to their notice; but it was not till the third of August that the princes, by whom they were employed, could be induced to accept their elaborate production². On that day, however, it was read in public, amid the applause of the enemies of Luther³.

'Confutation' of the Augsburg Confession, 1530.

This document is most interesting to the student in theology, because it gives him an opportunity of

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¹ The following points were at this time regarded as indispensable by Melancthon,—sacrament in both kinds, marriage of priests, omission of the canon in the mass, concession of the secularised church-lands, and lastly, discussion of the other contested questions at a council. Ranke, 286.

² Ibid. 283.

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Append. 44—69. A more candid statement of the objections taken by the Romish party to the Augsburg Confession is the 'Consilium' of Cochläus, presented to the king of the Romans, at his own request, June 17, 1540; in Le Plat, II. 657—670: cf. also the 'Consultatio' of G. Cassander, A.D. 1564, *ibid.* VI. 664 seqq.

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judging how far the representatives of the scholastic system, at a later period of the conflict, were disposed to soften the extreme opinions which had roused the zeal of the reformers. Some of the articles of the Augsburg Confession are therein absolutely approved, others are as absolutely rejected; while the rest are in part accepted and in part condemned.

Those which come under the first division relate to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, the necessity of baptism and the efficacy of the sacraments (the only objection being that the number 'seven' is not specified), the mission of the clergy, the authority of the magistrates, the final judgment, and the resurrection. To these may be added the holy Eucharist, with the statement of which no fault is found, but the Lutherans are required as a further exposition to admit the doctrine of concomitance; *i.e.* to deny the necessity of communion in both kinds.

With regard to those points, where approval was positively withheld, it is still important to observe how the Romish theologians had modified their language. They no longer taught that the sacraments justify 'ex opere operato,' *i.e.* by the mere performance of the act, nor that works which are done without grace are of the same nature as those which are the fruits of the Holy Spirit. They also approached nearer to the repudiation of human merit, and while condemning the Lutheran formula of '*sola fides*,' maintained that faith and good works are the free gifts of God, and are absolutely nothing (*nulla sunt et nihil*), when compared with the rewards which He has mercifully attached to them. The article, '*de ecclesia*,' was rejected, because it seemed to imply that sinners are in no way members of the Church; and those relating to the invocation of saints, the denial of the cup, and the compulsory celibacy of the priesthood, were assailed by references to Holy Scripture, to the usage of the Early Church, and to the statements of the forged decretals. The propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the use of the Latin language, monastic vows,

and other kindred topics, were in like manner reaffirmed and supported by the citation of ecclesiastical authorities: and while hopes were afforded that some disciplinary abuses should be hereafter corrected or removed, there is no abatement of the claims which had long been propounded by the Latin Church to the absolute obedience of all the faithful.

Among the articles accepted in some measure only, was that which related to original sin, (objection being taken to the term 'concupiscence'), and those which affirmed the Lutheran view of confession and penitence; the first being regarded as somewhat too lax, and the second as underrating the necessity of satisfaction.

The general impression of the diet after listening to this confutation was hostile to the cause of the Wittenberg Reformers. The emperor more particularly declared his determination to act as became the protector of the Roman Church; and had he not been deterred by the elector of Saxony and the threatened invasion of the Turks, no further attempt at pacification would have met with his sanction. As it was, however, he consented to the suggestions of the more moderate of his party, and, on the 16th of August, a conference was opened with the view of eliciting some scheme of mediation and of re-establishing the unity of the German Churches.

Results of the
'Confutation.'

Fresh attempt at
mediation.

'The dogmatical points at issue presented no insuperable difficulties. On the article of original sin, Eck gave way as soon as Melancthon proved to him that an expression objected to in his definition was, in fact, merely a popular explanation of an ancient scholastic one. Respecting the article on justification "through faith alone," Wimpina expressly declared that no work was meritorious, if performed without grace; he required the union of love with faith, and only in so far he objected to the word "alone." In this sense, however, the protestants had no desire to retain it; they consented to its erasure; their meaning had always been merely that

a reconciliation with God must be effected by inward devotion, not by outward acts. On the other hand, Eck declared, that the satisfaction which the catholic Church required to be made by penitence, was nothing else than reformation; an explanation which certainly left nothing further to be objected to the doctrine of the necessity of satisfaction. Even on the difficult point of the sacrifice of the mass, there was a great approximation. Eck explained the sacrifice as merely a sacramental sign, in remembrance of that which was offered on the cross. The presence of Christ in the Eucharist was not debated. The protestants were easily persuaded to acknowledge not only a true, but also a real or corporal presence. It was certainly not the difference in the fundamental conceptions of the Christian dogma which perpetuated the contest... The real cause of rupture lay in the constitution and practices of the Church¹.

The final
breach with
the Luther-
ans.

The zeal of the papal legate Campeggi put an end to these pacific measures, by inflaming the emperor still more strongly against the whole of the Lutheran body. He insisted that the ordinances of the Church, to some of which they had ventured to object, were immediately dictated by the Holy Spirit; and as the result of his untiring efforts the States were at length brought to decree, that until the decision of the expected council, the reformers should appoint no more married priests; that they should enforce confession with the minuteness of former years; that they should neither omit the canon of the mass, nor abolish private

¹ Ranke, III. 306, 307. The truth of this statement is illustrated by the whole history of the papacy. To recognize the supreme authority of the Roman pontiff was the one indispensable condition required of our own Church in the time of Queen Elizabeth (Twysden, 198, et seqq, Camb. ed.), and it is

still exacted with the same rigour of all who submit to the Roman communion. In the case of the Russian 'Uniates' we are told that 'nothing is required but the one capital point of submission to the pope.' Mouravieff's Hist. of the Russian Church, 142, Engl. Transl. cf. 390 (note).

masses ; and, above all, should admit that communion in one kind is no less valid than in both¹.

It was this arbitrary edict of the diet of Augsburg which extinguished the hope of reconciliation so warmly cherished by the moderate on both sides of the discussion ; and although one more effort was made under the auspices of Contarini, whom the pope sent as his legate to a meeting at Ratisbon, in 1541, it was thwarted in the same manner as before, by the unyielding pretensions of the Roman court, and the intractability of party spirit².

¹ Ranke, III. 310. The refusal of the Lutherans to comply with this edict, and the project of a Recess which was based upon it, suggested the composition of their second symbolical book, the 'Apologia Confessionis ;' in which the main points of their system are stated more fully, and in a somewhat less Roman style.

² The Pope, as usual, had required in the first place the acknowledgment of his ecclesiastical supremacy ; but Contarini kept it back till other questions had been settled. Melancthon and Bucer advocated the cause of the Reformers. It is most remarkable that the whole assembly came to an agreement on the four important articles of the nature of man, original sin, redemption, and even justification. The friends of Contarini congratulated him on the success of his endeavours ; and among others, we find Cardinal Pole addressing him in these terms : 'When I observed this unanimity of opinion, I felt a delight such as no harmony of sounds could have inspired me

with ; not only because I see the approach of peace and concord, but because these articles are the foundation of the whole Christian faith. They appear, it is true, to treat of divers things, of faith, works, and justification ; upon the latter, however,—justification—all the rest are grounded ; and I wish you joy, and thank God that the divines of both parties have agreed upon that. We hope that He who hath begun so mercifully will complete His work.' Quoted from Pole's Letters, in Ranke, 'Popes,' I. 164, 165. The proceedings at Ratisbon were, however, repudiated by Luther in violent language, and afterwards by some of the Cardinals, and the Pope. Bucer's remark on this occasion was too sadly verified in the result : 'Most reverend Sir,' he declared to Contarini when overruled by fresh instructions from Rome, 'the people are sinning on both sides ; we, in defending some points too obstinately, and you in not correcting your many abuses.' Beccatelli, Vit. Contarini, apud Quirini Diatrib. III. 110.

The approbation of the pope and of Luther was equally denied to the mediating body, and in a few years the council of Trent put an insuperable bar to all similar endeavours, by its rigorous definition of the Romish doctrines, and its absolute denunciation of all their opponents.

CHAPTER III.

THE ENGLISH ARTICLES OF 1536.

THE first triumph of the English Reformation was the synodical rejection of the papal supremacy, in 1534. In the execution of this important measure the intelligent members of the Church had very generally acquiesced. But notwithstanding so much harmony of action at the outset of the reforming movement, there existed little or no ground for hope that its progress would continue to conciliate the same uniform approbation.

The Church of England, like the rest of Christendom, was distracted by a number of hostile parties, widely differing in the details of their systems, but reducible under two popular designations, as favourers of the 'old' or of the 'new learning'.¹ The first may be said to have symbolized more or less with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; the second, if we exclude the more violent of them, with Cranmer,

The two
great parties
in the
Church;

¹ See Archbishop Laurence, 'Bampton Lectures,' 198. In strictness of language, however, this distinction was untrue, and as such was combated by the reforming party: 'Surely they that set asyde the blynde iudgemente of the affeccion, and loke earnestly vppon the matter, iudge otherwyse of vs: For *the olde auncient fathers dyd neuer knowe or heare tell of the moost parte of those thynges whyche oure condempners do teache*: than ye maye be sure that theyr learnynge oughte not to be rekened for olde learnynge and apostolicall. Farthermore not euery thyng that the olde fathers

wrote sauoureth of the syncerensse and purenesse of the sprete of the apostles. Certayn thynges *whyche were devised wythin these foure hundreth yeaes, yee rather euen of late haue bene receaued by and by of them, as soone as they were made, namely thys is theyr learnynge and so olde, that they desyre for thys, that the Gospell almoost shoulde be cast awaye, and counted as a new teachyng and learnynge.*' A comparison betwene the Olde learnynge and the Newe, translated out of Latyn unto Englysh by Wyliam Turner, 1538, A. III: cf. Archbp. Cranmer's Works: I. 375, ed. Jenkyns.

one headed
by Gardiner;

archbishop of Canterbury. Gardiner was a prelate of no ordinary powers, but, like many of his gifted contemporaries, he deemed the work of reformation complete, when the encroachments of the foreign pontiff had been successfully resisted. He had himself acted a conspicuous part in this emancipation of the English Church¹; but when the established religion of the country became an object of vigorous assault, and not unfrequently of furious vituperation, he placed himself at the head of the reactionary or anti-reformation school, and contested every inch of the ground, which he was finally forced to abandon.

the other, by
Cranmer.

Cranmer, on the contrary, while ranking far higher than his rival, both in the extent of his theological learning and in his deep religious earnestness, was the champion of the doctrinal reformers: he was gradually perceiving the errors and abuses in his own province of the Christian Church, and, as became 'the primate of all England,' was zealously promoting the work of restoration.

Revolution-
ary, or Ana-
baptist party.

It would, however, be most indiscriminating and unfair to identify the opinions of Cranmer and his party, with those of the many turbulent spirits, both at home and on the continent, who were assailing the first principles of religion, and erecting upon the ruins of the papal supremacy their own eccentric institutions. We have seen that the views adopted by Luther and the rest of the Wittenberg divines, were incapable of all sympathetic union with the revolutionary tenets of Zwingli; and the same kind of discrimination will be necessary still, if we would ascertain the actual position of the early English reformers. Their conflict with the numerous adherents of Gardiner was only one aspect of a diversified struggle, which the truth in that stirring crisis had been destined to encounter. Very soon after the rejection of the papal supremacy, a host of mis-

¹ See his Treatise 'de Vera Obedientia,' with Bonner's Preface, in Brown's Fasciculus, II. 800—820.

believers, known by the general name of 'Anabaptists,' but differing from the Church at large on almost every fundamental doctrine¹, began to propagate their creed in this country. A royal commission 'contra Anabaptistas²,' bearing date Oct. 1, 1538, describes their system as pestiferous and heretical, and urges the archbishop and his comprovincials to enter upon instant measures for their conviction or extermination. The introduction of these foreign elements gave fresh warmth and acrimony to the disputes already raging in the bosom of the Church of England. 'Too many there be,' says the Homilist³, 'which upon the ale-benches or other places, delight to set forth certain questions, not so much pertaining to edification, as to vain-glory, and shewing forth of their cunning; and so unsoberly to reason and dispute, that when neither part will give place to other, they fall to chiding and contention, and sometime from hot words to further inconvenience.' A specimen of the taunts, which appear to have been at that time in every man's mouth is then added⁴ by the same writer: 'He is a pharisee, he is a gospeller, he is of the new sort, he is of the old faith, he is a new-broached brother, he is a good catholic father, he is a papist, he is an heretic.'

The general
disquiet of
the Church.

¹ Ranke (III. 588 seqq.) has an excellent chapter on the 'Unitarian' and other Anabaptists. More evidence will be adduced respecting their extreme heresies, when we come to consider the misbelievers against whom the XLII. Articles were directed.

² Wilkins, Concil. III. 836.

³ Sermon against Contention and Brawling, 135. Camb. ed. The same kind of language is employed in a more nearly contemporary document, entitled 'The king's proclamation for uniformity in religion,' cir. A.D. 1536; Wilkins, III. 810.

⁴ Ibid. We have a curious illustration of these disputes in the last speech of Henry VIII., whose great object had been to bring about uniformity: 'I hear daily that you of the clergy preach one against another without charity or discretion: some be too stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, others be too busy and curious in their new *sumpsimus*. Thus all men, almost, be in variety and discord, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the Word of God as they ought to do.' Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. 600.

Origin of the
ten Articles.

In the midst of this strife of tongues, daily waxing louder and more virulent, was put forth the first code of doctrine produced by the English Reformation. It is aptly entitled '*Articles to stablyshe christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions*¹.'

Remon-
strance of
the lower
house of
Convocation.

The proximate cause of their compilation will be found in the history of the Church in the year 1536, and more particularly in certain acts of the convocation which assembled on the 9th of June. The lower house seem to have proceeded at once to draw up a representation of the errors 'then publicly preached, printed and professed;' and on the 23rd of June Richard Gwent, archdeacon of London and prolocutor, brought their complaint before the notice of the upper house², requesting that order might be taken to stop the further propagation of all such dangerous positions. They are divided into sixty-seven heads; and though Fuller, who transcribed them from the records of convocation, is disposed to regard them as 'the protestant religion in ore,' there is justice in the critique, which Collier has passed upon his language, that 'unless we had found a richer vein, it may very well be questioned, whether the mine had been worth the working³.' Fuller admits, indeed, that 'many vile and distempered expressions are found therein;' and it is impossible to read through the list without feeling how much both of profaneness and of dogmatic misbelief was calling for 'special reformation' in this quarter, as well as on the Romish side. The majority of them are most truly described by Carte, as 'erroneous opinions, which had been held by the Lollards formerly, or started now by the Anabaptists and others⁴.' At the same

¹ These Articles will be found at large in Appendix, No. I., together with collations of the several forms in which they have been recorded.

² Wilkins, III. 804.

³ II. 121; ed. 1714.

⁴ III. 137; ed. 1752. The following are a few of the objectionable tenets: 'Divers light and lewd persons be not ashamed or afraid to say, Why should I see the sacring of the high mass? Is it anything else but a

time, it cannot be denied, that in more than one of the propositions thus censured by the convocation, we may discern the rudiments of a purer faith¹; and in these Cranmer and the more moderate of the reforming party, must have felt a secret satisfaction. It is indeed probable that one of the concluding articles of the remonstrance was directed against the archbishop and his colleagues; for the lower house complain, that 'when heretofore divers books have been examined by persons appointed in the convocation, and the said books found full of heresies and erroneous opinions, and so declared; the said books are not yet *by the bishops* expressly condemned, but suffered to remain in the hands of unlearned people, which mi-

piece of bread, or a little pretty round Robin?'—'Priests have no more authority to minister sacraments than the laymen have.'—'All ceremonies accustomed in the Church, which are not clearly expressed in Scripture, must be taken away, because they are men's inventions.'—'A man hath no free will.'—'God never gave grace nor knowledge of Holy Scripture to any great estate of rich men, and they in no wise follow the same.'—'It is preached and taught that all things ought to be common.'—'It is idolatry to make any oblations.'—'It is as lawful at all times to confess to a layman as to a priest.'—'Bishops, ordinaries, and ecclesiastical judges have no authority to give any sentence of excommunication or censure, ne yet to absolve or loose any man from the same.'—'All sins, after the sinner be once converted, are made by the merits of Christ's passion venial sins, that is to say, sins clean

forgiven.'—'The singing or saying of mass, mattens, or even-song, is but a roring, howling, whistling, murmuring, tomring, and juggling; and the playing at the organs a foolish vanity.'—'It is sufficient and enough to believe, though a man do no good work at all.'—'No human constitutions or laws do bind any Christian man but such as be in the Gospels, Paul's epistles, or the New Testament; and that a man may break them without any offence at all.'

¹ *e. g.* 'They deny extreme unction to be a sacrament.'—'All those are antichrists that do deny the laymen the sacrament of the altar *sub utraque specie*.'—'Priests should have wives.'—'There is no mean place between heaven and hell wherein souls departed may be afflicted' (referring to the prevalent doctrine of purgatory, and not to that of the intermediate state, as now taught by the English Church).

nistreth to them matter of argument and much unquietness within this realm¹.'

Proceedings
of the
Bishops.

While these and other controversial topics were under the review of the lower house, the bishops seem to have been disputing in their turn upon the unhappy prospects of the Church. They were divided into nearly equal parties, the one side being favourable to some further reformation, the other, with the exception of the papal supremacy, adhering to the state of things which existed at the time of their consecration. In the first division, we may reckon Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Goodrich, bishop of Ely, Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, Latimer², bishop of Worcester, Fox, bishop of Hereford, Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, Barlow, bishop of St David's. The second consisted of Lee, archbishop of York, Stokesley, bishop of London, Tonsal, bishop of Durham, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Sherburne, bishop of Chichester, Kite, bishop of Carlisle, Nix, bishop of Norwich.

The royal
message.

During the first session of the assembly, Cromwell, in his character of 'vicar-general of the realm,' delivered an oration in the name of the king, assuring them of the concern felt by his majesty for the speedy termination of religious discord. 'The king studyeth day and nyght,' he says, 'to set a quietnesse in the Churche, and he cannot rest, vntil all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and of his whole parliament. For although his speciall desire is to set a stay for the vnlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may beleue, and he himselfe by his excellent learning, knoweth these controuersies wel enough,

¹ Wilkins, III. 807.

² By Cranmer's appointment he had preached the Sermon at the opening of the Convocation (Latimer's Sermons, 33 seqq. ed. P.S.), and had remonstrated in his plain-spoken manner with

the rest of his brother prelates for tolerating superfluous ceremonies and a variety of superstitions. He had also condemned the 'monster, purgatory,' and the impious sale of masses: 50, 55.

yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and of his whole parliament¹. His majesty next admonishes the prelates 'to conclude all thinges by the Woord of God, without all brawling or scolding,' and will not suffer 'the Scripture to be wrasted and defaced by any gloses, any papisticall lawes, or by any authority of doctours or counselles, and muche lesse will he admitte any article or doctrine not conteyned in the Scripture, but approued onley by continuance of time and olde custome, and by vnwritten verities.'

A disputation instantly arose, in which Stokesley was the chief speaker on one side, and Cranmer on the other. The speech of the archbishop is preserved², and opens with an exhortation to cease from debating about words, so long as agreement is obtained 'in the very substance and effect of the matter.' 'There be waighty controuersies,' he continues, 'nowe moued and put forth, not of ceremonies and light thinges, but of the true vnderstanding, and of the right difference of the lawe and of the gospell; of the maner and waye how sinnes be forgeuen, of comforting doubtfull and wauering consciences; by what meanes they may be certified, that they please God, seeing they feeble the strength of the lawe, accusing them of sinne: of the true vse of the sacramentes, whether the outward worke of them doth iustifie men, or whether we receaue our iustification by fayth. Item, which be the good workes, and the true seruice and honour which pleaseth God: and whether the choyse of meates, the difference of garmentes, the vowes of monkes and priestes, and other traditions which haue no worde of God to confirme them,—whether these (I say) be right good workes, and suche as make a perfect Christian man or no. Item, whether vayne

Disputes in
the Upper
House.

¹ See the speech at length in Fox, 1182; ed. 1583. Atterbury (Rights of Convocation, 367, ed. 1700) contends that this meeting of the bishops took place in

the year 1537: but Collier, Burnet, and others, refer it to the present year.

² Fox, *ibid*.

seruice and false honouring of God, and mans traditions, doe binde mens consciences or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such other (whiche cannot be proued to be institute of Christ, nor haue anye worde in them to certifie vs of remission of sinnes) ought to be called sacraments, and be compared with Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord, or no?

This statement of the questions more especially demanding the attention of the upper house, is an important illustration of the Articles, to which those questions led the way. According to Fox, the debate itself turned chiefly upon the meaning of the word 'sacrament,' and the number of Christian rites to which it may be legitimately affixed. Aless, a Scotch refugee, whom Cromwell had introduced as a learned guest to the council of the bishops, contended that the term sacrament, though capable of a wider signification, should be confined to those ordinances of the Gospel 'which haue the manifest word of God, and be institute by Christ to signify vnto us the remission of our sinnes¹.' He grounded this limited definition upon the authority of St Augustine: but Fox, bishop of Hereford, who had lately returned from a negotiation with the foreign reformers, exhorted him to conduct his argument by a simple reference to Holy Scripture, declaring that the Germans had made 'the text of the Bible so playne and easye by the Hebrue and Greeke tongue, that now many thinges may be better understand without any gloses at all, then by all the commentaries of the doctours.' The chief disputant on the opposite side of this question, as of others, was Stokesley, the bishop of London, who 'endeauoured himselfe with all his labour and industry, out of the olde schoole gloses, to maynteyne the seuen sacramentes of the Church.' He was not unwilling to

¹ Fox, 1183. It is worth observing that when the bishops were assembled on the following

day, Cranmer sent a message to Aless 'commanding him to abstain from disputation.' Ib. 1184.

regard the Bible as the written Word of God, but asserted that by the language of the Bible itself we are commanded to receive a number of oral traditions, which may worthily be called 'the Word of God unwritten,' as of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures.

The irreparable loss of the convocation-records has prevented us from pursuing these discussions to their close, and has at the same time left us uncertain as to the manner in which the above-mentioned remonstrance of the lower house was handled by the bishops. Enough is, however, surviving to evince the disunion of the rulers no less than of the Church at large, and the consequent necessity of adopting some mild and pacific measures.

It is probable that the contest was in both houses followed by a considerable compromise of opinions, and that the 'Ten Articles about Religion,' of which we are now treating, were the immediate result of this mutual concession.

'Articles about Religion' the result of a compromise.

They seem to have been brought into the convocation by Cromwell¹, and were, therefore, drawn up in private; but the manuscript varieties and corrections existing in the several copies of them demonstrate that men of different principles were employed in their compilation or revision².

According to one of the present versions³ they are entitled '*Articles devised by the King's Highness,*' &c., and are said to have been 'also approved by the consent and determination of the hole clergie of this realme:' while another copy⁴ describes them as 'Ar-

Variations in the title.

¹ Herbert's Hen. VIII., 466.

² An example of this is given by Dr. Jenkyns (Cranmer's Works, i. xv.) where Tonsal inserted a sanction of the practice of invoking saints, while Cranmer added a qualification that it must 'be done without any vain superstition.' Both

clauses are retained in the printed copies.

³ See the edition of Thomas Berthelet (the king's printer) Lond. 1536, reprinted in the Appendix. This was also the title in Fox's copy, 1093.

⁴ In Burnet, Addend. to Vol. i. 459 seqq. from a MS. in the

By whom was
the document
composed?

ticles about Religion, *set out by the convocation*, and published by the King's authority.' The former of these titles has created a belief that the document was composed entirely by the king, when he saw the inextricable quarrels in which the houses of convocation were entangled; nor is other testimony wanting to give this supposition a still greater degree of plausibility. In the royal 'Injunctions' issued during the same year (1536), it is stated that 'certain Articles were lately devised and put forth by the King's highnesse authority, and *condescended upon* by the prelates and clergy of this his realme in convocation¹.' In like manner the king declares in a letter written at the same time, that the increasing discord constrained him 'to *put his own pen to the book*, and to conceive certain Articles, which were by all the bishops and whole clergy of the realm in convocation agreed on as catholic²;' and he proceeds to charge the bishops whom he is addressing openly in their cathedrals and elsewhere, to read and declare '*our* said Articles,' plainly and without any additions of their own.

These passages appear to claim the authorship of the Articles for the king himself exclusively; and yet it is difficult to reconcile that hypothesis with the language of the Declaration prefixed to them in nearly all the existing copies. He there states that being credibly advertised of the diversity of opinions which prevailed in all parts of England, he had 'not only in his own person at many times taken great pain, study, labours, and travails, but *also had caused the bishops, and other the most discreet and best learned men of the clergy to be assembled in convocation, for the full debate-ment and quiet determination of the same.*'

Most natural
conclusion.

After weighing this evidence together, the most natural inference is, that a rough draft of the Articles was made by a committee³, consisting of the more

Cotton Library (Cleop. E. V. fol. 59.)

¹ Wilkins, III. 813.

² Ibid. 825.

³ Strype (Cranmer, Lib. I. c. xi. : I. 83, ed. E.H.S.) conjectures

moderate divines, and presided over by the king himself, or at least in frequent communication with him by means of the 'vicar-general.' After various modifications had been made to meet the views of discordant members, and after the revisions of the royal pen had been completed¹, it was submitted to the upper house of Convocation, and perhaps to the criticism of those prelates who had taken no part in its compilation. There is also strong reason for supposing that the edition printed by Berthelet, in 1536, contains the most authentic record of the Articles, partly on account of the correction, in that copy, of errors which are found in the Cotton Manuscript, and partly from the incorporation of the Articles as they stand in the printed form with the 'Institution of a Christian Man,' which was published in the following year².

A further discrepancy has been found to exist between the different copies of the Articles, apart from those minor points, which will be exhibited hereafter. Collier has transmitted two lists of the *subscriptions*, one of which is considerably shorter than the other. The first is derived from a Manuscript in the State-Paper Office, from which also he has printed the copy of the Articles³ contained in his 'History of the Church.' It

Two lists of
Subscrip-
tions.

that the Archbishop of Canterbury had 'a great share therein,' but gives no proof or reason. Archbishop Laurence has noticed a correspondence between the article on justification and the definition contained in Melancthon's 'Loci Theologici' (Bampton Lectures, 201, Oxf. 1838), which, together with the Lutheran tendency of some of the other Articles, would point to the influence of Cranmer, and the reforming party. Professor Blunt, relying on evidence adduced by the same writer, believes that Melancthon had a

voice in the drawing up of this document. Reform. 186, Lond. 1843.

¹ Burnet, III. 237, states that he had seen copies of some portions of it, with alterations by the king's own hand: and Dr Jenkyns adds (Cranmer, I. xv.) that MSS. corresponding to Burnet's description are still extant among the Theological Tracts in the Chapter-House at Westminster.

² Formularies of Faith, vii. Oxf. 1825.

³ Probably one of the earliest draughts, as we may argue from its incompleteness, and the ab-

was probably intended as a record for the single province of Canterbury, and accordingly includes the signatures of those members only who belonged to that jurisdiction. The second and longer list of assentients is found in the Cotton Manuscript¹ alluded to above: and as it comprises the names of *both* the Archbishops, we may conjecture that in the passing of this document, the two convocations of Canterbury and York had acted for once in concert².

From the above sketch of the external history of the Articles, we may now pass to a survey of their object and contents.

Transitional
character of
these Articles.

As seen from our own point of view they are the work of a transition-period, of men who had not learned to contemplate the truth in all the fulness of its harmonies and contrasts, and who consequently did not shrink from acquiescing in accommodations and concessions, which to their riper understanding might have seemed a betrayal of their sacred trust. It would be ungenerous to suppose with Fox, that the King and the reforming members of the council had deliberately consented to adulterate the Gospel, through a false tenderness for 'the weakelings, which were newly weaned from their mother's milke of Rome;' and yet a comparison of the fruits of the discussion with the principles avowed on its opening and its progress, must convince us how far the majority were disposed to recast or to modify their system. The truth is, they were treading upon ground with which few of them were as yet familiar, and we need not wonder if they sometimes stumbled, or even wholly lost their way. An example of this want of firmness may be traced in the conduct of bishop Latimer. Although one of the sermons which he preached at the assembling of Convocation is distinguished by a resolute assault upon the received doctrine of purgatory³, he ulti-

Inconsis-
tencies in
some who
subscribed
them.

sence of the royal Declaration.
Ibid.

Church History, ed. Tierney.

² Lathbury, Hist. of Convo-
cation, 131.

¹ A facsimile of the signatures
is prefixed to Vol. I. of Dodd's

³ See above, p. 44, note (2).

mately put his hand to the statement of the Article on that subject, enjoining men to 'pray for the souls of the departed in masses and exequies, and to give alms to other to pray for them, *whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain*¹.' In the same manner Fox, as reported by his namesake, was strongly disinclined to lay stress on the testimonies of 'doctors and scholemen, forsomuch as they doe not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all poyntes;' in which also he was but echoing the stronger speech of Cromwell. Nevertheless both their names are appended to the document, wherein it is absolutely enjoined that all bishops and preachers shall construe the words of Holy Writ according to the Catholic Creeds, and 'as the holy approved doctors of the Church do entreat and defend the same².'

These and other like instances, while betraying the not unnatural oscillation of men's minds, betoken also the depth and violence of the changes which were then proceeding in all quarters. And the Articles themselves are a reflection of the same convulsive struggles both in the soul of the single Christian and in that of the Church at large.

They begin by declaring that 'the fundamentals of religion are comprehended in the whole body and canon Art. 1. of the Bible, and *also* in the three Creeds or symbols: whereof one was made by the Apostles, and is the common creed which every man useth: the second was made by the holy council of Nice, and is said daily in the mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the Psalm *Quicumque vult*.' It declares that whosoever shall 'obstinately affirm the contrary, he or they cannot be the very

¹ In Collier's copy, most probably an early draught, the language here italicized was much softer, but it still involved the doctrine against which the bishop had protested. It is just possible

that he was contemplating an *extreme* view of purgatory, like those repudiated at the end of the same Article.

² Art. 1.

members of Christ and His espouse the Church, but be very infidels and heretics and members of the devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.' It also recognises the authority of 'the four holy councils, that is to say, the council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedonense,' and reprobates all opinions condemned in those synods.

This article was manifestly directed against the tenets of 'the Anabaptists,' many of whom denied (as we shall see hereafter) the entire doctrine of the Holy Trinity and of our Saviour's Incarnation.

Art. II.

The second passes to the Sacrament of Baptism, and was intended to meet the same modern misbelievers, as the article itself informs us. It declares that baptism was instituted by our Saviour 'as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life' (John iii.); that by it all, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, obtain 'remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God;' that infants and innocents ought to be baptized, because the promise of everlasting life pertains to them also; that dying in their infancy they 'shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not;' that they must be 'christened because they be born in original sin,' and this sin can only be remitted 'by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost;' that rebaptization is inadmissible; that the opinions of Anabaptists and Pelagians are 'detestable heresies;' that in 'men or children having the use of reason,' repentance and faith are needed in order to the efficacy of baptism.

Art. III.

The third article is entitled 'The Sacrament¹ of Penance.' By contrasting it with the propositions

¹ Hall (Chron. fol. ccxxviii. ed. 1583) noticed in the new book of Articles, as one of the most prominent points, that it specially mentions only *three* sacraments. This has become a very general observation; and the reintroduction of Matrimony,

Confirmation, Orders, and Extreme Unction, with the title of sacraments, into the 'Institution of a Christian Man' in the following year, is deplored as a retrogressive step. But Dr Jenkyns (Cranmer's Works, i. xv.) has called attention to a MS.

which were condemned at the same time in the lower house of Convocation, its bearing upon the circumstances of the Church will be seen far more clearly¹. It begins by affirming that penance is a sacrament instituted by our Lord in the New Testament as a thing absolutely necessary to salvation, in the case of sins committed after baptism. According to it, penance consists of contrition, confession and amendment of life. The first of these parts is made up of a sorrowing acknowledgment of sin and of a deep confidence in God's 'mercy, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified and of the number of His elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.' Respecting the second part of penance, it declares 'that confession to the minister of the Church is a very expedient and necessary mean,' and must in no wise be contemned, for that 'the words of absolution pronounced by the priest are spoken by authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel.' As to the third part of penance, amendment of life, it consists in prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, restitution in will and deed, and all other good works of mercy and charity. These must be diligently performed in order to obtain everlasting life, and *also* to 'deserve remission or mitigation of pains and afflictions in this world;' for although Christ and His death be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, and satisfaction for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners the eternal consequences of their sin, the

fragment of the Articles of 1536, subscribed by Cranmer, and other members of the reforming party, in which the above sacred rites are actually styled after the manner of the 'old learning,' though defined in such a way as to distinguish them entirely from the rest. This circumstance

led Dr Jenkyns to the conclusion that Stokesley, Gardiner, and others of the anti-reformation school, preferred to remain silent on the subject in 1536, rather than to adopt those restricted definitions.

¹ See §§ 26—31: Wilkins, III. 805, 806.

temporal consequences are to be removed or abated by the efforts of the penitent himself.

Art. IV.

The fourth article, entitled the 'Sacrament of the Altar,' is in like manner opposed to the 'mala dogmata' condemned in the lower house of Convocation. It declares in emphatic language, that 'under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is substantially and really comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour, which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered upon the cross for our redemption:' that 'the very selfsame body and blood of Christ, under the same form of bread and wine, is corporally, really, and in very substance, exhibited, distributed and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament;' and that as a consequence the sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and after careful self-examination.

Art. V.

The fifth article defines 'justification' as 'remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation unto the grace and favour of God, *that is to say*, our perfect renovation in Christ.' The question had been very warmly agitated, not only among the continental reformers, but also in this country, and the definition here adopted is most probably a compromise between the Lutheran tenet and that which was afterwards established as Roman by the divines at the Council of Trent. For the next paragraph asserts that justification is attained by contrition and faith, joined with charity, 'not as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily deserve to attain the said justification,' but are required by the Almighty as accompanying conditions. He commandeth also, that '*after we be justified* we must have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of His laws and commandments.'

After the above articles relating to matters of faith, we come to those 'concerning the laudable

ceremonies of the Church¹;' under which designation are included many topics of the deepest practical moment. Like the former series of decisions, they are readily traceable to the circumstances of the times, and are all more or less illustrated by the collection of 'mala dogmata,' to which the attention of the reader has been so frequently directed.

The first, 'Of Images,' allows the use of them as Art. VI. 'representers of virtue and good example, as kindlers and stirrers of men's minds,' specifying the images of 'Christ and our Lady;' but at the same time commands the clergy to 'reform their abuses, for else there might fortune idolatry to ensue; which God forbid.' It also enjoins the bishops and preachers to instruct their flocks more carefully with regard to censing, kneeling and offering to images, 'that they in no wise do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but only to be done to God and in His honour.'

The next is entitled 'Of honouring of Saints,' and Art. VII. while it sanctions a modified reverence on the ground that 'they already do reign in glory with Christ,' and 'for their excellent virtues which He planted in them,' it is careful to guard against the error that they may be honoured with the kind or degree of confidence which is due unto God alone.

The next article, 'Of praying to Saints,' declares Art. VIII. that this custom, so long as it regards them as intercessors, praying with us and for us unto God, is in itself laudable; and adds a specimen of the kind of prayer which was thought to be exempt from the charge of superstition. It asserts, however, that 'grace, remission of sin, and salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is the only sufficient Mediator for our sins,' and cautions men against supposing that 'any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that

¹ In the King's Injunctions (Wilkins, III. 813), after drawing a like distinction between the two divisions of these Arti-

cles, he charges all 'deanes, persones, vicars, and other curates,' to open and declare it in their sermons.

any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same.'

Art. ix.

The next article enters on the general question of 'Rites and Ceremonies,' vindicating many of them by name from the prevailing accusations, on the ground that they are 'things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify;' yet adding the same kind of corrective as before, that 'none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven.'

Art. x.

The last article, 'Of Purgatory,' commences by affirming that 'it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed,' resting the exercise on 'the due order of charity,' on the Book of Maccabees, on the plain statements of ancient doctors, and on ecclesiastical usage even from the beginning. It accordingly enjoins the duty of committing the departed to God's mercy in our prayers, and of causing others 'to pray for them in masses and exequies,' in order to accelerate their relief out of the state of present suffering. It adds, however, that we know little or nothing either of their place or the nature of their pains, and must refer the particulars of their lot to God, 'trusting that He accepteth our prayers for them.' In the mean time it curtails the more flagrant abuses 'which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced,' specifying pope's pardons, and masses said at Scala Cœli.

How far the
Articles were
accepted.

It is now impossible to ascertain the amount of the majority by which these Articles were passed in the two houses of Convocation. In the longer list of subscriptions there are eighteen bishops (including Stokesley, but not Gardiner,) and forty abbots and priors: while the number of assentients in the lower house is exactly fifty, all of them belonging to the province of Canterbury. They consist of four deans of cathedrals, twenty-five archdeacons¹, three deans

¹ Two of these were Italians, viz. Polydore Vergil, archdeacon of Wells, and Peter Vannes, archdeacon of Worcester.

of collegiate churches, seventeen proctors for the parochial clergy, and one master of a college¹. If the provincial synods were actually combined on this occasion, as the signatures of Lee, archbishop of York, and of Tonsal, bishop of Durham, would certainly indicate, at least with regard to the prelates, the lower house of the northern Convocation must have either withheld their assent almost² unanimously, or (what is difficult to conceive under the circumstances of the case) the record of their subscriptions was distinct from that of the southern province.

We may readily imagine that many members of Convocation would be deterred by the inconvenience of a long journey to London, especially when they foresaw that it must end in angry disputations, or might involve them in oaths and protests, which they could not cordially adopt: and there is reason to believe that in the province of York such reluctance existed in its strongest form. The 'old learning' was there cherished with a peculiar fondness, without losing, as in the southern and midland counties, the central tenet of the papal supremacy. 'The Opinion of the clergy of the north parts, in Convocation, upon Ten Articles sent to them,' has been printed in Strype and Wilkins; and although the articles referred to were not³ identical with the document, which forms

Disaffection
of the North-
ern counties.

¹ Some members of the lower house subscribed in double capacities, which makes the official signatures more numerous. Atterbury, *Rights of English Convocation*, 149, ed. 1700.

² The only exception seems to be the archdeacon of *Chester*, William Knyght.

³ They are dated 1536, and from their allusion to Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 16, respecting dispensations from the see of Rome, must have been written in the *summer* of that year. They prove beyond a doubt that

the northern convocation *was assembled* at this time (cf. Wake, *State of the Church*, 491); whatever may be the true mode of solving the questions adverted to above. Besides advocating the extreme view of the papal jurisdiction, they 'think it convenient, that such clerks as be in prison, or fled out of the realm, for withstanding the king's superiority in the Church, may be set at liberty and restored without danger.' Wilkins, III. 812; Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* I. 247, 248, ed. 1721.

Publica-
tion of the
Articles
followed by
revolt.

the subject of the present chapter, (bearing chiefly upon the royal supremacy), the answers which they drew from the northern clergy abundantly testify the zeal of that province against the incipient reformation of the Church. Their intense feeling of disaffection appears to have been still more exasperated by the recent enactments of the civil legislature, which called upon them to exhibit their dispensations from the pope; and no sooner had the bishops begun to circulate¹ the new 'Articles about Religion,' than they rose on all sides into actual revolt. 'This booke,' as Hall observes², 'had specially mentioned but three sacramentes, with the whiche the Lyncolneshyremen (I meane their ignoraunt priestes) were offended, and of that occasion depraued the Kinges doynges.' He then gives us an account of the spreading insurrection, the leaders of which had complained, as one of their sorest grievances³, that 'several bishops had made a change in the fundamental doctrines.'

Nearly the last incident associated with the publication of the Ten Articles, arose out of this same rebellion in the north. To convince the formidable body of insurgents that the document had been duly authorized by the Church, and was consequently no mere innovation of the king and a handful of his counsellors, several printed copies of it were sent down in the month of October to the commander of the royal forces, and with them the original itself, as it had been subscribed in the houses of Convocation⁴.

The ten
Articles
superseded.

But its use and circulation appear to have been superseded in the following year (1537), by the com-

¹ They had been charged to do so on every holy-day by the king, (Wilkins, III. 825), and a mandate of the bishop of Lincoln (Longland) enjoins the beneficed clergymen to avoid all controversial topics, and to preach four times a year, 'secundum Articulos, qui nuper per serenissimam

regiam majestatem, ac totum hujus regni Angliæ cleri in convocatione sua sanciti fuere.' Ibid. 829.

² Chronicle, fol. CCXXVIII. ed. 1583.

³ Collier, II. 131.

⁴ Strype, Cranmer, I. 84, ed. E. H. S.

pilation of a second Formulary of Faith, entitled the 'Institution of a Christian Man;' upon which, however, the Articles of 1536 were to a great extent engrafted: and as the new work had not received the formal sanction¹ either of the Convocation or the Crown, their intrinsic *authority* remained until they were supplanted by the future determinations of the Church².

¹ Jenkyns' Cranmer, I. XVIII. and the 'Letter' there referred to. The 'Institution' was drawn up by a number of Commissioners (Collier most erroneously affirms *three* years before its circulation, II. 139); but never regularly submitted to Convocation: and although published by the king's printer, it was not, like the former book of Articles, provided with a preface by his Majesty, commanding it to be received by his subjects. Being thus destitute of the royal authority, it was called the *Bishops' Book*. It consists of an Exposition of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Paternoster, Ave-Maria, Justification, and Purgatory. The introduction to it is no more than a letter from the Commissioners to the king announcing its completion. This drew from him a very guarded answer (Jenkyns' Cranmer, I. 188) which, while assenting to the publication of the Bishops' Book, does not commit him to

a full sanction of the contents.

² e.g. 'The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man,' or the *King's Book*, set forth in 1543. It is on the whole a revised edition of the Bishops' Book, although (as Collier observes) 'it seems mostly to lose ground, and reform backwards' (II. 191: cf. Prof. Blunt's Reform. 190 seqq.) Unlike its predecessor, however, it was not only drawn up by a committee of Divines, but actually *approved in Convocation*, and enjoined by a royal mandate: Wilkins, III. 868; Jenkyns' Cranmer, I. xxxvii.; cf. I. 188, 189 (note). This account of the authority of the two 'Books' is the reverse of what has been commonly received; but it is well supported by Dr Jenkyns, and seems to him the only hypothesis which is capable of explaining all the evidence on the subject. For Burnet's mistake, see Abp Laurence, Bamp. Lect. I. note (4).

CHAPTER IV.

THE XIII. ARTICLES :—CONFERENCES WITH THE LUTHERAN REFORMERS.

General
sympathy
between the
English and
Lutheran
reformers.

NOTHING could be more natural in the earlier stages of reformation, than the anxiety manifested by the English divines, to establish a good understanding with their fellow-workers in Germany. They had been equally burdened by the papal yoke : they had mourned over the same festering abuses in the Church of which they were members : they had embarked with like earnestness of purpose in the same remedial project ; and despairing at last of a ‘ true general council,’ had simultaneously come to the conclusion, that it was the bounden duty of ‘ every prince to redress his own realm¹.’

The greatest obstacle in the way of this friendly communication was the quarrel between Henry VIII. and Luther : but as they were neither of them unwilling to forget their early fulminations, the obstacle could no longer be considered insuperable. It was in fact ultimately removed by the moderation and good offices of Melancthon, for whom Henry appears to have manifested a peculiar partiality. As early as March, 1534, he was pressed to come over and help in the reformation of the English Church ; and the same wish was repeated by the king himself on many subsequent occasions². While cherishing the

¹ Cf. the ‘ Causes’ why the Germans did not recognise the Council of Mantua (quoted above p. 20), with the contemporary ‘ Protestation’ of the English, in Fox, 1085.

² Archbp Laurence, Bampton Lectures, Sermon i. note (3); Sermon ii. note (3). In 1538, Henry wrote as follows to the Elector of Saxony: ‘ Pro his, quæ feli-

citer agi cœpta sunt, felicius absolvendis concludendisque expectamus, ut Dominum Philippum Melancthonem, *in cujus excellenti eruditione et sano judicio a bonis omnibus multa spes reposita est, doctosque alios et probos viros, primo quoque tempore, ad nos mittat.* Seckendorf, *Histor. Luther.* lib. iii. § 66. add. 1: Francof. 1692.

spirit of national independence, Melancthon and his associates could feel no sympathy with the lawlessness, impiety, and misbelief, which had followed in the track of the great religious movement. They had shewn the firmness of their principles by standing aloof from Carlstadt and his rationalistic speculations: they had opposed the growth of the political tumult which ended in the 'Peasants' War,' and had subsequently repelled the followers of Zwingli, and denounced the swarm of sectarian fanatics who went under the name of 'Anabaptists.' Their system was thus fully vindicated in the eyes of all thinking men: it was proved to be conservative of the truth no less than destructive of the modern perversions by which the truth had been woefully corrupted; and on this account the tone of the Wittenberg divines was far more nearly in harmony with the English Reformation than with the bolder and revolutionary measures adopted on the continent of Europe.

An increasing affinity in matters of religion, combined with diplomatic considerations, had already suggested the opening of a negociation with 'the princes of the Augsburg Confession,' in the year 1535. The first accredited envoy was Robert Barnes, afterwards a victim of the reactionary school and the caprice of his royal master. He was followed in the winter of the same year by bishop Fox and Dr Hethe¹, who found the Lutheran states in consultation at Smalcald, respecting the political and religious alliance, which was called after the place of meeting. The admonitions of Henry, as delivered by his delegates (Dec. 24), were gratefully acknowledged by the 'Smalcaldic League,' who added their willingness to admit him also as a member of the confederacy upon his acceding to the usual conditions. Among the rest it was stipulated that he should adopt, or at least approve in general language²,

Actual negotiations in 1535.

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem. i. 225—228. They had an interview with Pontanus and Burckhardt, Dec. 15: Melancthon. Opp. ii. 108, ed. Bretschneider.

² The English were required to conform to the Confession and Apology, 'nisi forte quædam . . . ex verbo Dei merito corrigenda aut mutanda videbuntur.'

the true doctrine of Christ, as laid down in the Confession of Augsburg, and unite in defending it, under the title of 'Patron and Protector of the League.'

How frustrated or deferred.

This design, so full of momentous bearings, is said to have been in a great measure frustrated through the instrumentality of bishop Gardiner¹, at that time the English ambassador in France. He represented, that the king would be so entangled by this treaty in the affairs of the German nation, as to be unable without their consent 'to do what the Word of God shall permit;' that as Henry was 'head of the Church of England,' by the authority of Scripture, so was the emperor 'head' of the Germanic Churches, and that consequently the princes subject to his authority would not be justified in acting without his consent. By these and other similar arguments, applied with his peculiar skill, the bishop of Winchester was enabled to restrain the alacrity of his master, and eventually to thwart the projected alliance. At present, however, the reply of Henry, though less warm than his previous communication, continued to hold out a prospect of success. He does not absolutely decline the honour intended for him by the German princes, in placing him at the head of their league, but postpones the acceptance of it, until 'agreement shall be had betwixt him and their orators,' respecting the terms of religious union. 'For it should not be sure nor honourable for his Majesty, before they shall be with his Grace agreed upon a certain *concord of doctrine*, to take such a province upon his highness. And forasmuch as his majesty desireth much that his bishops and learned men might agree with theirs; but seeing that it cannot be, *unless certain things in their Confession and Apology should, by their familiar conferences, be mitigate*; his Grace therefore would their orators, and some excellent learned men with them, *should be sent hither*, to confer, talk, and common upon the same².'

Ranke, III. 661: cf. Strype, ubi pend. No. LXV.
sup. Append. No. LXIV.

² Strype, *ibid.* Append. No.

¹ Strype, *ibid.* 226, and Ap- LXVI. 163.

But while Henry was thus hesitating on the subject of the religious confederation, a conference was actually proceeding in Germany between the members of the English legation and the foreign theologians¹. The place of meeting seems to have been at Wittenberg, in the house of Pontanus, the chancellor of Saxony, where Fox strenuously insisted on the Lutheran tendencies of the English, and more especially of his royal master.

Private Con-
ferences at
Wittenberg.

An account is preserved in Seckendorf² of certain Articles of Religion, which were drawn up by those mediating parties, in the winter of 153⁵/₆. One article relates to the Lord's Supper, and is an expanded form of the Augsburg definition: a second denies in the name of the 'League,' that 'any primacy or monarchy of the Roman bishop doth now obtain, or ever hath obtained by divine right.' The Germans moreover insisted upon the abolition of private masses, and the relaxation of clerical celibacy; but on these, as on other points appertaining to the discipline of the Church, the English were unable to yield them an equal satisfaction.

Articles
drawn up.

In the following year (1536) the negociation, at least in its religious bearing, proceeded still more slowly³; for the Wittenberg divines had now lost all confidence in Fox, and were suspecting the motives of Henry, who appeared to them far more anxious to

¹ Luther and Melancthon were of the number. The latter joined the conference Jan. 15, 1536. See his communication to Burckhardt; Opp. III. 26.

² Comment. de Lutheran. Lib. III. § xxxix: 'Extat elaborata a Wittenbergensibus, acceptata etiam et domum reportata a legatis Anglicis, repetitio et exegesis quædam Augustanæ Confessionis.' 111, Francof. 1692. They are said to exist both in Latin and German: Melancthon. Opp. III. 104, note (2). An expression in

a letter dated Nov. 28, 1536, implies that either the *same Articles revised*, or a fresh compilation, were again recommended by the English to the notice of their Saxon friends, III. 192.

³ On the 9th of March, the divines were engaged in purely doctrinal discussions (Ibid. III. 45); and on the 30th, after much hesitation, they had agreed 'de plerisque.' On the 24th of April, the English ambassadors departed.

gain his political objects, or their assent to the lawfulness of his divorce, than to forward the progress of religion and the purification of the Western Church¹.

Negotiation
resumed.

In 1538, however, the apprehension of hostilities from the continent, combining with the earlier causes, induced him to reopen his negotiation with the Germans, and to urge the establishment of a religious alliance with corresponding vigour. The princes of the Augsburg Confession had assembled early in the year at Brunswick, whither he dispatched a confidential messenger, with certain preliminary questions. He spoke 'of his Christian zele and propension of mind towards the Word of God, and of his desire to plant the sound doctrine of Christian religion in his kingdoms, and wholly to take away and abolish the impious ceremonies of the bishop of Rome².' As the Germans still persisted in their demand, that all who entered the confederacy should acknowledge their Confession, he begged them to carry out a former promise, and send a legation of divines (including the learned Melancthon³), to confer upon the disputed points with some of the English theologians. To this wish the Lutheran princes appear to have readily assented, except so far as it concerned Melancthon, whose presence was needed at home to direct the counsels of the state, and the affairs of the University of Wittenberg. The chief persons actually chosen for this office were Francis Burckhardt, vice-chancellor to the elector of Saxony; George à Boyneburg, a nobleman of Hesse, and doctor of laws; and Frederic Myconius, superintendent of the reformers at Gotha. A recommendatory letter to the King, bearing date May 12, 1538⁴, was carried by Burckhardt as the head of the legation. It implores the English monarch to reflect on the imminent perils of the Church, and to aid in devising measures which may tend both to

Lutheran
legation.

¹ Strype, *ibid.* 229, 230.

² Strype, *ibid.* I. 329.

³ Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.* 494.

⁴ Strype, *ibid.* App. No. xciv.

establish a firm consent among the promoters of the Reformation, and to dissuade the other European princes from participation in the papal cause.

As soon as the Lutheran embassy arrived, a committee was nominated by the King, consisting of three bishops¹ and four doctors, to act as the representatives of the Church of England. The course of the discussion was regulated by the plan pursued in the Augsburg Confession; and we are told that the points of faith were alone sufficient to engage the interest of the disputants for a period of two months². It is not easy to trace all the steps of this interesting conference, but it seems that the delegates had gradually come to an understanding upon the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, and had proceeded 'to put their articles in writing³.' Strype asserts that the queries of the King were submitted in the first instance to the 'Orators' (as the German envoys were entitled), and that after the answers had been returned to him, they were examined by the English committee⁴. Be this, however, as it may, the fact of their ultimate agreement on the principal points of the Christian faith is stated in a letter addressed by Myconius to Cromwell⁵, a short time before his departure (Sept. 7, 1538).

Its proceedings.

How far successful.

But their labours in the second field of investigation did not lead to a similar issue; and when the

When and why it failed.

¹ Cranmer and Tonsal were of the number, and represented different schools. Herbert, 495.

² See the 'Brevis Summa' of the Germans, in Strype, App. No. xcvi., where they also inform us that 'they could not stay for the rest of the disputation concerning abuses;' 261. This account tallies with a letter of Cranmer, (No. ccxxx.; i. 261, ed. Jenkyns), dated Aug. 18, in which he states that the 'Orators of Germany' durst not

tarry, 'forasmuch as they have been so long from their princes,' and were fully determined to depart within eight days from that time. They were finally induced to remain a month longer.

³ Cranmer's Letters, ubi sup. and 264.

⁴ Eccles. Memor. i. 330: cf. Original Letters, ed. P. S. 612, 613.

⁵ In Strype's Eccles. Memor. i. Append. No. xc7.

German reformers took their leave of Henry, he still clung to the ancient abuses against which they had struggled from the first with unrelenting sternness. These abuses were, the prohibition of both kinds in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, the custom of private propitiatory masses, and the absolute injunction of clerical celibacy¹. Cranmer had in vain striven to engage the rest of the English committee in this part of the discussion; for in a letter to Cromwell (Aug. 23), he remarks that when the Orators of Germany were anxious to proceed 'in their book, and entreat of *the abuses*, so that the same might be set forth in writing *as the other articles are*,' he had 'effectuously moved the bishops thereto,' but they made him this answer: 'That they knew that the King's Grace hath taken upon himself to answer the said Orators *in that behalf*, and thereof a book is already devised by the King's majesty; and therefore they will not meddle with the abuses, lest they should write therein contrary to that the King shall write.' 'Wherefore,' he continues, 'they have required me to entreat now of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; wherein they know certainly that the Germans will not agree with us, except it be in matrimony only. So that I perceive that the bishops seek only an occasion to break the concord².'

Reasons of
the failure.

The 'boke' alluded to by Cranmer in this letter was actually drawn up by Henry, with the assistance of bishop Tonsal³, who was devoted to the 'ancient learning.' It proves, what the archbishop had indeed suspected, that the anti-reformation party was now gaining a fresh ascendancy at court⁴, and that, however much Henry had been willing to approach the Lutheran standard of doctrine, there was no prospect

¹ See the 'Judgment concerning Abuses,' composed by the German envoys on this occasion. Ibid. No. xcvi.

kyns.

³ In Burnet, i. Add. Nos. 7, 8.

⁴ Prof. Blunt's Reform. 189, note (5).

² Works, i. 263, 264; ed. Jen-

of weaning him from the corruptions and abuses which had crept into the practice of the Church. It is true, that on the departure of the German envoys, he invited them to return to England, and resume the discussion of those points in which the conference was divided; and in the letter which Melancthon wrote to him¹, March 26, 1539, a hope is confidently indulged, that as he had begun to take away 'wicked superstitions,' he would correct those which remained: but the feelings of Henry had in the mean time been still more estranged from the continental reformation; and when Burckhardt and his colleagues renewed their visit in the spring of the following year², the influence of Gardiner was sufficient not only to baffle all their negociations³, but to carry, both in the convocation and the parliament, an 'Act for the abolishing of Diversity of Opinions,' or, as it was not unfrequently entitled, the 'bloody Statute of the Six Articles⁴.'

Enactment
of the 'Six
Articles,'
1539.

It does not fall in with our object to investigate the origin of those Articles, or to recount the frightful persecutions which accompanied their publication. A more pleasing and congenial inquiry is suggested by the mission of the foreign reformers, which the

¹ In Strype, i. App. No. ci.

² Strype, Eccl. Mem. i. 341.

³ In a document drawn up on this occasion (Strype, Eccl. Mem. i. 341; Collier, ii. 171), it is remarkable how far the Lutherans were disposed to make concessions in favour of the 'older learning:' cf. Luther's *Schriften*, xvii. 342—345: ed. 1745.

⁴ This 'whip withe sixe stringes,' as Hall terms it, enforces a belief in the following articles: (1) of transubstantiation, or the entire physical change of the elements in the eucharist, (2) the non-necessity of communion in both kinds,

(3) the sinfulness of marriage after receiving the order of priesthood, (4) the absolute obligation of the vows of chastity or widowhood, (5) the propriety and necessity of 'private masses,' (6) the expediency and continual obligation of auricular confession. (Stat. 31^o Hen. VIII. c. 14). All these dogmas, excepting, perhaps, the first, refer to the recent negociations with the Germans, and on that account are strongly censured by Melancthon, in a letter which he addressed to the English monarch, Sept. 22, 1539. Fox, 1172 seqq.: cf. Melancthon, *Opp.* iii. 783, 784.

Result of the
conference
with the
Germans still
extant.

enactment of the 'bloody statute' had so abruptly intercepted. Abundant memorials have survived of the partial disagreement which existed between them and the English committee: yet it is no less certain that union was effected to a very considerable extent, and that a number of Articles were actually compiled as the result of their deliberations on the leading verities of the faith. A document of this nature must be one of the deepest interest to all who engage in the study of the English Reformation; and it has been for the first time placed within their reach by the researches of a living writer. In looking for remains of Archbishop Cranmer, Dr Jenkyns discovered among a bundle of papers belonging to that prelate, a thin folio manuscript, entitled, 'A Boke conteyning divers Articles de Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum, de Peccato Originali,' &c. He informs us, that the documents tied up in the same bundle relate chiefly to the negociations with the Lutheran envoys in the year 1538, and believes that the 'Articles' were those agreed upon at the conferences which were held in London at that time. 'The "boke" itself is manifestly founded on the Confession of Augsburg, often following it very closely, and departing from it exactly in those instances, where the mixture of English and German theology might have been expected to cause a variation. It is also in Latin, and this circumstance adds to the probability of its having been composed in concert with foreigners: for such other Formularies of this reign as were designed for domestic use are in English. And, lastly, the only Article, namely, that on the Lord's Supper, which there is an opportunity of comparing with the conclusions approved by Fox and Hethe in Germany, is word for word the same¹.' This argument is further supported by the fact, that the manuscript Articles do not embrace any of those topics on which the English and German delegates had failed to arrive at a perfect understanding; while three

¹ Cranmer's Works, I. XXII. XXIII.

other separate papers¹, also in Latin, of the same general form, and of nearly the same length, refer to points which were then actually disputed, and are most probably draughts of the articles which were not accepted by the Lutheran divines.

But there are other reasons for fixing our attention upon the Thirteen Articles of 1538, as the basis of the projected alliance with the Germans. While indicating the disposition of our leading reformers to acquiesce in the dogmatic statements which had been propounded by the Augsburg Confession, they had a very important prospective bearing, and seem to have constituted the ground-work of the Articles now in use. No one can deny indeed that the framers of the Forty-two Articles in the reign of Edward VI. drew very largely out of the Lutheran Confession, which had been compiled in 1530; but the discovery of the Thirteen Articles has made it probable that the derivation, instead of being direct, as was hitherto generally supposed, took place through the medium of this later channel. Such an inference is at least supported by the fact, 'that the expressions in Edward VI.'s Formulary, usually adduced to prove its connexion with the Confession of Augsburg, are also found in the Book of Articles: while it contains *others*, which can be traced as far as the Book of Articles, but which will be sought for in vain in the Confession of Augsburg.' From what we know of their general character, the framers of Edward VI.'s Articles would be 'anxious, in the execution of their undertaking, to meet, if possible, the views of their brethren on the continent, as well as of their countrymen at home;

The importance of the Articles of 1538.

Basis of the Articles of 1552.

¹ Ibid. iv. 292 seqq. This bundle has been re-examined for the benefit of the present work. It contains, among other valuable pieces, the exposition of the 'Sacrament of Confirmation,' contained in the 'Institution of a Christian man' (which is said to have been 'agreed upon com-

muni consensu'): and also 'Certain Articles admytted in Germany,' endorsed by Sir Ralph Sadleyr, who became Secretary of State in 1540. The latter document seems to be an abstract of one alluded to above, p. 67, note (3).

and they could scarcely pursue a surer method of attaining their object than by borrowing from a form of doctrine already approved by both¹.

The Articles, thus serving as a link between the religious Formularies of the two countries, are drawn up under the following heads: (1) De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum; (2) De Peccato Originali; (3) De duabus Christi naturis; (4) De Justificatione; (5) De Ecclesia; (6) De Baptismo; (7) De Eucharistia; (8) De Pœnitentia; (9) De Sacramentorum usu; (10) De Ministris Ecclesiæ; (11) De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis; (12) De Rebus Civilibus; (13) De Corporum Resurrectione et Judicio extremo.

Connexion
with other
Articles ex-
hibited.

The means of comparing them minutely with the Augsburg Confession on the one hand, and with the subsequent English Articles on the other, will be provided in the Appendix² to the present volume: but the most cursory perusal is enough to convince us how closely they adhere both in arrangement and in substance to the elder of those Formularies of Faith, and how much at the same time they have anticipated of the materials of the later.

Art. I.

The first of the XIII. Articles, though bearing a different title, is almost a verbal copy of Art. I. of the Augsburg Confession, and includes the first of the XLII. Articles.

Art. II.

The second corresponds with Art. II. of the Augsburg, but, like the eighth of the XLII. Articles, it speaks of '*peccatum originale*' instead of '*peccatum originis*,' and contains the expression '*originalis justitia*,' which is not in the Augsburg.

Art. III.

The third is identical with Art. III. of the Augsburg, and includes the second of the XLII. Articles.

Art. IV.

The fourth is a much longer statement on the subject of justification than Art. IV. of the Augsburg, yet both affirm that men are accepted by God '*gratis propter Christum per fidem*.' The English definition is, however, different in some measure from the German, including, like the Articles of 1536, the idea of

¹ Ibid. I. xxiv.

² See App. No. II.

‘a true *renovation* in Christ’ as equivalent to ‘remission of sins.’ This Article also embodies a portion of Arts. V. and VI. of the Augsburg, but has no expressions in common with the corresponding Articles of 1552.

The fifth is a considerable departure from Art. Art. v. VII. of the Augsburg, though manifestly copying some expressions from thence, as also from Art. VIII. It views the Church under two aspects, either as completely holy and the mystical body of Christ, or as the congregation of those who have been baptized, and have not been excommunicated. This latter it describes as the catholic and apostolic Church composed of all national and particular Churches. No trace exists in it of the twentieth Article of 1552: but, what is very remarkable, it includes the thirty-third and the twenty-seventh of that code, using language in both cases which is *not* found in the Augsburg Confession.

The sixth, on the subject of baptism, is much Art. vi. fuller than Art. IX. of the Augsburg, though stating precisely the same doctrine. It seems to have much in common with the Articles of 1536, and, so far as language is concerned, has no affinity with the twenty-eighth of the XLII. Articles.

The seventh is also an expansion of Art. X. of Art. vii. the Augsburg, and agrees verbatim with the statement adopted in Germany during the Conferences of 1535. It has no terms in common with the twenty-ninth of the XLII. Articles.

The eighth is a long and for the most part Art. viii. original essay on ‘Penitence.’ It may however be compared with Arts. XI. and XII. of the Augsburg.

The ninth, respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, Art. ix. has much in common with Art. XIII. of the Augsburg, but far more with the twenty-sixth of the XLII. Articles, where the language is almost identical¹.

The tenth, though bearing a different title, is Art. x.

¹ A fuller example of this adoption of much older theology may be remarked in the Homilies for the Passion and the Resur-

rection, which had appeared almost verbatim in Taverner’s ‘Postils,’ as early as 1540.

based upon Art. XIV. of the Augsburg, and agrees still further with the twenty-fourth of the XLII. Articles.

Art. XI.
Art. XII.
Art. XIII.

The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, are long dissertations, in the main agreeing with Arts. XV. XVI. and XVII. of the Augsburg; but if we except a few general sentiments, they are altogether without parallels in the later English Articles.

Articles
drawn up in
1540 (?)

It is worthy of remark, that a number of rough draughts for different parts of the above document exist in our public repositories, and that several are corrected in the handwriting of Cranmer, and one in that of the King. Until the discovery of the copy containing the XIII. Articles in their collected form, it had been usual to assign those draughts to the labours of a committee appointed in April, 1540, to draw up a 'Declaration of the principal Articles of the Christian belief¹.' Henry, it is true, had been considerably appeased by the burning of the unhappy 'Gospellers,' who persisted in rejecting the 'Six Articles,' and had repeated his earnest desire of accommodation, denouncing the 'rashness and licentiousness of some, and the superstition and stiffness of others²:' but there is no satisfactory evidence to shew that the commissioners undertook such a compilation as the document above described. Strype, who has collected six of the Articles³, assigning them to the labours of this commission, admits that many of the accompanying papers were 'drawn up by the divines for the king's use' in the discussions with the German envoys⁴. And it is very doubtful whether the same statement does not also apply to the definitions of Christian doctrine

¹ Archbp. Laurence, Bampton Lectures, Serm. I. note (5). The names of the Commissioners are given in Strype (Mem. of Cranmer, I. 173); who describes them as 'generally learned and moderate men.' Gardiner was not of the number.

² Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 356.

³ De ecclesia, de justifica-

tione, de eucharistia, de baptismo, de poenitentia, de sacramentorum usu. Eccl. Mem. I. App. No. CXII., where they are printed with notes of the king in the margin. They present considerable variations in language, but accord in doctrine (so far as they go) with the XIII. Articles.

⁴ Mem. of Cranmer, I. 179.

preserved in his own 'Appendix:' for besides their being composed in Latin, which would favour this conjecture, the records of the commission are confined almost entirely to 'Questions and Answers concerning the sacraments, and the appointment and power of bishops and priests¹.' Fox, indeed, intimates that 'a book of Articles' was completed in accordance with the views of Cranmer, but no Formulary answering this description is now extant: and if such a work did exist, it appears to have been speedily suppressed, and to have gained neither royal nor ecclesiastical sanction. A corroboration of this view, which is derived from the absence of the document itself, as well as from the lack of historical testimony, was furnished by the Injunctions of Bonner in 1542², who directed his clergy to procure and study 'The Institution of a Christian Man,' which he could hardly have done in this public manner, if there had been a more recent work invested with authority; and the same was subsequently implied in the spring of 1543, when an Act³ 'for the advancement of true religion' suggested the compilation of the last public Formulary in the reign of Henry VIII.⁴

¹ Ibid. App. Nos. xxvi.*, xxvii., xxviii., xxviii.*; cf. Cranmer's Works, ed. Jenkyns, I. xxiii. (note), xxix. seqq. Still it is a *possible* supposition, and by no means inconsistent with the view here advocated, that the Articles of 1538 were revived two years later by this commission. The operation of the 'bloody statute' was suspended in 1540, as we know from a fresh correspondence, which took place in the spring of that year, between Henry VIII. and the German princes. At the urgent request of the English monarch a number of well-digested arguments were also for-

warded to him from certain of the Lutheran divines; but no further traces have been found of the correspondence after April 12, 1540. Melancthon, Opp. III. 1005—1016.

² Quoted by Dr Jenkyns, *ubi supra*.

³ Statutes of the Realm, 34^o and 35^o Hen. VIII. c. 1. Among other things it abolishes 'all books comprising any matter of Christian Doctrine, Articles of the Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth sithence A.D. 1540, or to be set forth by the King.'

⁴ 'A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man.'

CHAPTER V.

THE XLII. ARTICLES OF 1552.

Accession of
Edward VI.
1547.

THE death of king Henry VIII. in 1547, like that of Luther in the year preceding, is said to have excited a most lively joy among the members of the Council of Trent¹. Yet their triumph was certainly premature, if not altogether illusive: for the reign of his successor was destined to widen the breach already existing between our own and the Roman Churches, and to establish the English Reformation upon a deeper and more lasting basis. The reactionary school, under Gardiner and his colleagues, had no chance of resisting the impetuous spirits who stood first in the royal favour; and if there was any subject for present apprehension, it rose out of the very opposite quarter, lest the flexibility of the youthful king should be made instrumental in propelling the Church into rash and revolutionary changes.

Influence and
character
of Archbp.
Cranmer.

The man, who seems to have been raised up as our guide in the midst of those critical times, and who succeeded in the construction of a bulwark, not only against Romish corruptions, but against the rising flood of puritanical innovations, was the primate of all England. Though we may not exempt him from human failings, and though his gentleness in particular was apt to degenerate into weakness and indecision, the character of Cranmer, regarded as a whole, was one of the noblest of his age: to him, under God, we are principally indebted for the sobriety of the English Reformation, and the general accordance of our present system with pure and primitive models.

On this account it is important to ascertain what were his leading opinions at the accession of Edward VI.; (for although we may not identify the

¹ Sarpi, i. 257, 467; ed. Courayer.

teaching of the Church with that of the individual writer, the animus of a man like Cranmer must always, more or less, appear in the public decisions of the age). A reply to our question is furnished by the fact, that in the first year of the new reign he 'set forth' an English Catechism, of a decidedly *Lutheran* stamp¹, having been originally translated from German into Latin, by a bosom-friend of the Wittenberg reformer. With the exception of one single tenet, respecting the nature of the presence in the holy Eucharist², the views of Cranmer underwent no further variations upon any fundamental subject. His Lutheran predilections are also manifested in the formation of the First Service-Book of Edward VI., put forth in the month of June, 1549; for, like the corresponding work of the Saxon reformers, our own is derived almost entirely from the ancient, or the mediæval Liturgies, and, in no inconsiderable degree, through the medium of a Lutheran compilation³, itself based upon the older Offices of Nuremberg.

His opinions, with one exception, *Lutheran*.

The conservative temper of the archbishop, in the adoption of these measures, is particularly felt

His continued reverence for antiquity.

¹ Archbp. Laurence, Bampton Lect. 16, 17 (note).

² This change seems to have taken place in 1548, and is mainly attributed to the influence of John à Lasco, whose opinion at the same period may be drawn from the following passage: "Mysterium porro omnium summum in cœna esse puto, communionem corporis et sanguinis Christi: in hoc vero nullum usque dissidium video. Omnes enim ingenue fatemur, nos in cœna vero Christi corpori et sanguini vere etiam communicare, quicumque verbo illius credimus. Quod jam attinet,

quo modo id fiat," etc. Letters of à Lasco, quoted in Dr Jenkins' 'Cranmer,' I. LXXX. This however is a very different dogma from that of the Zwinglians. See, for example, Zwingl. Opp. II. 546, b. Bucer and others attempted to harmonize the Lutheran and Helvetic doctrines, but without success.

³ 'The Consultation of Herman,' Archbp. of Cologne, drawn up by Melancthon with the aid of Bucer, published in 1543, and translated into English in 1547. Our present Litany, for example, is taken almost verbatim from this work.

on contrasting the English Prayer-Book, as it was arranged under his eye, with the modern forms of worship adopted at Geneva; where Calvin (according to archbishop Laurence¹) 'chose rather to become an author than a compiler, preferring the task of composing a new Liturgy to that of reforming an old one.'

Nor did the Second Service-Book of king Edward VI., though maimed in one or two particulars, abandon the uniform reverence for the past which had distinguished its predecessor. The bulk of the materials out of which it was constructed were the bequest of anterior ages; and while practically attesting the continuity of the Church, illustrated the spirit of the English reformers.

The same kind of deference may be seen in the First Book of Homilies (1547), especially in those portions which are the work of archbishop Cranmer: and even in his polemical Treatises on the subject of the Eucharist, where (if ever) he was at times betrayed into the use of unprimitive language, he is still true to his former professions of adherence to the Early Church. 'Lest any man,' he writes, 'should think that I feign anything of mine own head, without any other ground or authority, you shall hear, by God's grace, as well the errors of the papists confuted, as the catholic truth defended, *both by God's sacred Word, and also by the most old approved authors and martyrs of Christ's Church.*' And again: 'This is the true catholic faith, *which the Scripture teacheth and the universal Church of Christ hath ever believed from the beginning,* until within these four or five hundred years past, that the bishop of Rome, with the assistance of his papists, hath set up a new faith and belief of their own devising².' Or take an extract from his memo-

¹ Bampton Lect. I. note (6). II. 313, 356, ed. Jenkyns. Cf.

² 'Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament,' published in 1550: Works, 'Answer to Smythe's Preface,' III. 23: 'Answer to Gardiner,' III. 41—43.

rable appeal, in 1556, after the sentence of degradation had been passed, and he was standing on the brink of death: 'Touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand, anything *contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the holy Catholic Church of Christ*; but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only which I had learned of *the Sacred Scripture and of the holy Catholic Church of Christ from the beginning*; and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church¹.'

Carrying with us a knowledge of these facts as to the kind of influence which presided over the compilation of our later Formularies of Faith, we may now pass on to the particular inquiry proposed in the present chapter.

It has been a subject of wonder to many writers, that so long an interval was suffered to elapse from the death of king Henry VIII. to the publication of the XLII. Articles in 1553; and that the 'Necessary Doctrine' continued to be the standard of belief, so far as it was not overruled by the more recent circulation of the Homilies, the Ordinal, and the Prayer-Book. Whatever may have been the collateral causes of this delay, one is undoubtedly to be sought in the scheme which Cranmer was then cherishing for the comprehension of all the reformed Churches in one general communion. This idea had been suggested as early as 1539, in a letter of Melancthon, addressed by him to king Henry VIII.; it was renewed in 1542, and again at the opening of the reign of Edward².

Why the
XLII. Ar-
ticles were
not pub-
lished sooner

Plan of a
General Re-
formed Con-
fession:

Captivated by a project, which, during the rage of religious disputation, must have been peculiarly attractive to a man like Cranmer, he seems to have lost no time in his arrangements for attempting its

¹ iv. 126.

note (3): Cranmer's Works, ed.

² See Laurence, Serm. II. Jenkyns, I. 337, 338, note (r).

how frustrated.

immediate execution. In July 1548, several learned men had already arrived from the continent¹; and although the unwillingness of Melancthon to participate in the present plan deferred and eventually frustrated the proceedings of the conference, the anxiety of Cranmer to obtain his counsel is manifested by repeated applications, one of which was sent to him as late as March 1552². His reluctance, and that of others, was occasioned in some measure by the political perplexities of the times³, and the increasing troubles of the Wittenberg reformers; but it is far more attributable to the inherent difficulties, or rather impracticability of the scheme, they were now invited to consider. A congress of the kind contemplated by Cranmer was to embrace a deputation from the Swiss reformers⁴, as well as the learned and pliant Bucer; it must therefore have necessarily turned upon the Eucharistic controversy, in which, after earlier attempts at mediation, there was no hope of a general concord. Indeed, a letter written by John à Lasco (July 19, 1548), before his own arrival in England, describes the adjustment of the 'sacramentary contention⁵' as the *main* object of the future

¹ 'Accersivimus igitur et te (writing to à Lasco) et alios quosdam doctos viros; qui cum non gravatim ad nos venerint, ita ut nullum fere ex iis præter te et Melancthonem desideremus,' etc. Cranmer's Letters, CCLXXII.: I. 330.

² Dr Jenkyns' Pref. cv., and Letters there referred to.

³ Todd's Cranmer, II. 226, ed. 1831.

⁴ See Cranmer's Letter to Melancthon (CCLXXXV.), where he adds 'Scripsi ad D. Calvinum et ad D. Bullingerum, eosque hortatus sum, ne operi tam necessario, adeoque utili reipublicæ Christianæ deesse vellent.' In

writing to Calvin he asks, 'Adversarii nostri habent nunc Tridenti sua concilia, ut errores stabiliant, et nos piam synodum congregare negligemus, ut errores refutare, dogmata repurgare et propagare possimus?' Letter CCLXXXIV.

⁵ 'Contentio sacramentaria cœpit illic exagitari per quosdam, estque instituta ea de re publica disputatio, ad quam magnis multarum precibus vocor. Bucerus expectatur. Franciscus noster Dryander jam adest. Et de Calvino mussatur, nisi quod Gallus est.' Ibid. I. 330, note (a). Bucer had arrived with Paul Fagius in May, 1549. Their

meeting: and although Cranmer (March 20, 1552), was himself desirous of extending the discussion to a variety of controverted topics,—to ‘all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and not only to the things themselves, but also to the forms of speech,’—he looked on the dissensions respecting the ‘sacrament of unity’ as the sorest evil of the Church¹.

It is not easy to ascertain the precise time when this project of a General Confession was finally abandoned in England, but there is reason to believe² that it was still cherished by the Archbishop and his friends long after they had actually begun to frame a domestic Formulary of Faith.

The first sketch of this document was prepared as early as the summer of 1551, the king and his privy council having ‘ordered the Archbishop to frame a book of Articles of Religion, for the preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in this Church, that, being finished, they might be set forth by public authority³.’ It is indisputable that the principal burden of the work was borne by archbishop Cranmer; for when questioned on this point in the following reign, he did not hesitate to admit that the book of Articles was one of the productions which had been framed under his own eye⁴.

First sketch
of the XLII.
Articles,
1551:

The rough draught, however, as soon as it came

sent to the
bishops:

influence over the Archbishop was looked forward to with apprehension by Burcher (who considered them to be Lutherans): ‘I wish they may not pervert him, or make him worse.’ Original Letters, ed. P. S. 652.

¹ Letter CCLXXXIV. *passim*.

² The last letter of invitation is the one above mentioned, bearing date, March 20, 1552, and in a subsequent communication of Calvin the project is spoken of as relinquished. Cranmer’s Works, i. 347: Laurence, Serm. II. note (4). Calvin himself revived it early in the reign

of Elizabeth (Strype’s Parker, i. 69, ed. 1711), but died immediately after it was submitted to the royal Council.

³ Strype, Cranmer, lib. II. c. 27: II. 366, ed. E. H. S.

⁴ Fox represents the Archbishop as declaring that the work was one of ‘his doings,’ but the official report of his language is somewhat different: ‘Quoad Catechismum et *Articulos* in eodem fatetur se adhibuisse ejus consilium circa editionem ejusdem.’ Lambeth MS. quoted by Todd, II. 286.

from his pen, was transmitted to the rest of his episcopal brethren for their criticism and corrections. It remained in their hands until the spring of the following year, when a letter (May 2) was sent from the council to the Archbishop, requiring him to send the Articles that were 'delivered the last year to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority, according to the minutes¹.' They were forwarded to the council in obedience to this order, but soon afterwards returned to the Archbishop, in whose possession they remained till Sept. 19. He now digested them still more carefully, and after adding titles and introducing supplementary clauses, placed a copy of them in the hands of the two distinguished laymen, Sir Wm. Cecil and Sir John Cheke², desiring them to take the work into their serious consideration. After a careful revision from these 'two great patrons of the Reformation at the court,' it was again submitted to the King, with the request that it might be published, and enforced upon the clergy.

revised by the
archbishop ;

submitted to
Cheke and
Cecil ;

to six royal
chaplains :

finally re-
turned to
the Council,
Nov. 24,
1552.

A fresh delay, however, intervened ; for on the 21st of October following, a letter was addressed to the six royal chaplains, Harley, Bill, Horne, Grindal, Perne, and Knox, to reconsider the projected Formulary, and to 'make report of their opinions touching the same³.' It was now remitted (Nov. 20) to the Archbishop at one of his country-houses for the 'last corrections of his judgment and his pen,' and on the 24th of the same month he returned it to the council, accompanied by the following observations : 'I have sent unto the same [your good lordships] the Book of Articles,

¹ Strype, ubi sup.

² 'I have sent the book of Articles for Religion unto Mr Cheke, set in a better order than it was, and the titles upon every matter, adding thereto that which lacked.' Cranmer to Cecil, Sept. 19, 1552 : Strype's Cranmer, II. App. No. LXVI.

³ Ibid. II. 367 : Todd. II. 288, who remarks that a version of the Articles in Latin, with copies of their names subscribed, is now in the State-Paper Office. It has been collated for the present work (App. No. III), and has supplied a number of important variations.

which yesterday I received from your lordships. I have sent also a schedule inclosed, declaring briefly my mind upon the said book; beseeching your lordships to be means unto the King's majesty, that all the bishops may have authority from him to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the said Articles. And then I trust that such a concord and quietness in religion shall shortly follow thereof, as else is not to be looked for many years¹.

A further delay of six months ensued before this authority was publicly accorded, but on the 19th of June, 1553, a mandate in the name of the King was directed to the officials of the Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring them to see that the new Formulary should be subscribed²; which was accordingly carried into effect, at least in two or three dioceses of the realm³.

Mandate for
subscription,
June 19,
1553.

Before this period, however, the Articles had been already put in general circulation; as we learn, among other sources, from the following title: '*Articles agreed on by the bishops and other learned men in the synod at London, in the year of our Lord God 1552, for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion.*' Published by the King's Majesty's command-

Publication
of the Ar-
ticles.

¹ Strype's Cranmer, II. App. No. LXIV.

² See the mandate in Wilkins, IV. 79. It extended also to schoolmasters, and apparently to members of the university on admission to degrees. Todd, II. 293.

³ On the 22nd of June (not the 2nd, as in Strype), the clergy of Canterbury were cited for this purpose, but it is uncertain how many of them actually subscribed. According to Burnet,

the Articles were not circulated widely on account of the death of Edward, which followed very soon after (July 6): III. 365—367. When examined by Queen Mary's commissioners, Cranmer declared that he only 'exhorted such as were willing to subscribe; but against their wills he compelled none.' Fox, 1877. The bishops were permitted to suspend all compulsory measures for a period of *six weeks*. Todd, II. 296.

ment, in the month of May, 1553. Rich. Graftonus, typographus regius excudebat. Lond. mense Junii, 1553.' This work was printed *separately*¹, and in English: but another edition of 1553, from the press of Raynold Wolfe, exhibits the Articles in Latin, appended to a distinct treatise, bearing the title 'Catechismus Brevis Christianæ Disciplinæ².' These two works, similarly connected, but in an English version, were published in the same year, 'by the King's Majesty's authority,' and the royal Injunction prefixed to the Catechism is dated May 20, 1553³. The Articles are in both cases said to have been 'agreed on by the bishops and other learned and godly men in the last Convocation' (in ultima synodo), A.D. 1552; but their object is described with a slight variation from the copy as it was printed by Grafton⁴.

How far we can trace the changes in the Articles during their formation.

It has been remarked already, that the original draft of this document was made by archbishop Cranmer, and by him submitted to a number of revisions during an interval of eighteen months. In what particulars it was modified or augmented by this long and varied criticism we are unable to ascertain precisely; and yet the letter of the King to Ridley, bearing date June 9, 1553, as well as that of the Archbishop to Cecil in the previous September, would lead

¹ An important consideration, proving (as Dr Cardwell remarks) that the Articles were not treated as a mere appendage to the Catechism, with which they were often combined. Synod. i. 6.

² The author of the Catechism is unknown. It has been ascribed to Ridley, Ponet, and Nowell; but the reasons are strongest in favour of the second. See a Letter of Sir John Cheke, June 7, 1553, and the remarks upon it, in Cranmer's Works, ed. P. S. i. 422, note (2).

³ A very short interval must

have elapsed between this order and the actual publication, for in a letter of Utenhovius to Bullinger, dated London, June 7, 1553, he remarks that 'Articles are now printed in the king's name, to which all persons must subscribe who are to be appointed to any office in the Church, as also those who are already appointed, under pain of deprivation.' Original Letters, ed. P. S. 594.

⁴ 'For to roote out the discord of opinions, and stablish the agreement of trew religion.'

us to suppose that the amount of alteration had been very considerable ; for it describes the Articles, which were then publishing in their final form, as '*devised and gathered with great study, and by counsel and good advice of the greatest learned part of our bishops of this realm and sundry others of our clergy*¹.' We cannot, therefore, resist the conclusion, that they had been exposed to a searching review, and freely discussed and amended by a number of auxiliary hands, before the date of their general circulation.

But some of the uncertainty in which this question has been thought to be enveloped, is dispelled by the records appertaining to the visitations of bishop Hooper in 1551 and 1552²; *i. e.* during the time when the Articles were in process of formation, but had not been publicly sanctioned by the Crown. In a pastoral letter to the clergy of Gloucester, in the year 1551, signifying the intention of the bishop to visit that diocese in the summer, he informs them that 'according to the talent and gift given him of the Lord, he had collected and gathered out of God's holy Word, a few *Articles*, which he trusted would much profit and do them good.' In the course of the visitation he exacted subscription to these Articles, as he himself wrote to Cecil in a letter dated Gloucester, July 6, 1552³. This, however, must have been upon his individual authority; for in the same communication he expresses the strongest wish that a document still more binding on the clergy may proceed from higher quarters. 'For the love of God,' he writes, 'cause the *Articles*, that the King's majesty spake of, when we took our oaths⁴, to be set forth *by his authority*.' In October, 1552, he proceeded to Worcester in continuation of the same visit,
Records of Hooper's visitation, 1551;
and in like manner of 1552.

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 421.

² Strype, Cranmer, Book II. ch. xviii., and Documents.

³ Ibid. App. No. xlvi. One of his 'interrogatories' on the same occasion was: 'How many priests in the deanery have subscribed

unto the Articles that I put forth unto them?' Eccl. Mem. II. 355.

⁴ *i. e.* on his appointment to the bishopric of Worcester (which he held 'in commendam'), May 20, 1552.

but was interrupted by two Romanizing prebendaries, whom he found unwilling to acquiesce in certain of the doctrines which he had propounded in *his* Articles of Religion. This act of resistance on their part led the way to a disputation with the bishop, an account of the result of which was immediately communicated by him to the royal council (Oct. 25, 1552); while Joliffe, one of the prebendaries, after the accession of Elizabeth, gave the whole of the controversy to the world in a book published at Antwerp, in 1564. This volume¹ comprises the arguments of the objectors, together with the answer returned to them by Hooper, and a confutation of that answer by Gardiner, who was at the time a prisoner in the Tower: but, what is still more interesting and important, it has also presented us with a copy of the Articles which were the moving cause of the dispute.

What were
Bp. Hooper's
'Articles?'

At first sight we may be inclined to consider them *altogether distinct* from the Formulary which was subsequently circulated by the King, for subscription in the Church at large. Such indeed appears to have been the inference of Strype²; and the language of Hooper, where he speaks of the Articles 'gathered' by himself out of the Holy Scriptures, would unquestionably tend to the same conclusion. Yet, on the other

¹ See some account of it in Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* II. 354. The title of a copy in the Library of the University of Cambridge is as follows: 'Responsio venerabilium sacerdotum Henrici Ioliffi et Roberti Jonson, sub protestatione facta, ad illos Articulos Ioannis Hoperi, episcopi Vigorniae nomen gerentis in quibus a Catholica fide dissentiebat, etc. Antv. 1564.'

² 'When he visited them he gave them Articles concerning Christian religion, to *the number of fifty*.' Cranmer, II. 220. A

full account of the visitation was perused by Strype in a certain folio MS. of which a copy from Dr Williams' Library has been obligingly furnished for the use of the present writer, by the Editor of Bp Hooper's 'Remains,' (preparing for immediate publication). The title there given describes the Articles as composed for 'the unity and agreement, as well as for the doctrine of God's Word, as also for the conformity of the ceremonies agreeing with God's Word.'

hand, there is satisfactory proof that the two documents are very closely related, or had even proceeded from a common source ; for out of the *nineteen* Articles animadverted on by the prebendaries, *ten* will be found to coincide precisely (a few cases of varying phraseology excepted) with the Latin Articles of 1552, though the order in which they occur is different throughout ; while of the *nine* remaining Articles, *seven* are as obviously the same in substance, though not so fully enunciated as certain parallel definitions of the later Formulary. The only Articles of which no traces were preserved in those of 1552, are the first and the eighteenth in Joliffe's publication ; the former being directed against errors on the subject of our Saviour's Incarnation, and the oneness of His propitiatory sacrifice¹ ; the latter, against the superstitious services of the mass as they had been commonly celebrated anterior to the Reformation. There are expressions also in the reply of Hooper, which although hardly reconcileable with his previous language, imply that the Articles tendered by him to the Worcester clergy were in some way sanctioned by the authority of the King, or perhaps in accordance with the Formulary drawn up at the royal order. These passages²

Their resemblance to the Articles of 1552.

¹ 'Christi corpus non ex virili semine, nec ex ulla alia materia nisi tantum ex substantia Virginis Maria, opera Spiritus Sancti factum est, idque semel, et semel tantum oblatum est.' Art. I. fol. 13. 'Missa quæ consuevit a sacerdotibus dici, superstitionis et abusus plena erat, et præter epistolas, evangelia et verba cœnæ, perpauca instituta per Christum habuit : sed a Romanis Pontificibus et ab aliis ejusdem notæ hominibus inventa et exco-gitata est.' Art. XVIII. fol. 188. b.

² Hooper (or, as some suspected, Harley or Jewel) began

his confutation of it in the following terms : 'Quod serius quam pro vestra expectatione, ad ea quæ in *Articulos regios scripsistis* responderim,' etc. fol. 6. b. ; and again : 'Quid hic de regis majestate, *qui mihi author fuit*, ut hæc suis omnibus, tam qui in clero sunt, quam qui in promiscua multitudine proponerem, suspicamini, aliis divinandum relinquo. Me vero, meique loci et ordinis alios, *qui his jam pridem subscripsimus*, quo ingenio *αἰρέσεως* nota liberetis non video, postquam hos articulos, quos verbo veritatis freti approbavi-

have prompted the idea that after the Articles were returned by Cranmer to the privy council in May, 1552, the King had by a private act¹ recommended the well-affected prelates to urge them upon the notice of the clergy, for the purpose of ascertaining their willingness on the matter of subscription. Yet on the contrary, it must be remembered that early in the year preceding, allusion had been made by Hooper to what he then designated *his* Articles; and since they in their turn are frequently identical with those, which he offered in 1552 to the prebendaries of Worcester, a rough sketch of the document, hereafter published by authority, was already in active circulation, at least among some of the reforming prelates².

Their number.

Be this, however, as it may, there is not evidence enough to support the conclusion of archbishop Laurence, that the number of Articles, as originally compiled at Lambeth, did not exceed nineteen, or that Cranmer in the first instance composed little or nothing more than a condemnation of 'Romish' errors³. It is clear from an extant English copy, that the list of bishop Hooper, amounted to no less than *fifty* Articles, and if *some* of these only were refuted by the disaffected prebendaries of Worcester, the reason might be that the remainder were considered less open to attack, or were even such as the objectors had no scruple in subscribing.

Why so few were answered.

Nor is this view altogether unsanctioned by the

mus, sacræ Scripturæ, analogiæ fidei, et ecclesiæ determinationi vestra censura adversantur.' fol. 7. b. It is clear also from Joliffe's statement, that the royal authority was pleaded in the enforcing of subscription (fol. 5): but Gardiner's Replication (fol. 8. b) implies that no such authority had been brought to bear, except indirectly and *in terrorem*.

¹ Soames, Reform. III. 651.

² The truth seems to be that

the Articles in Hooper's 'Visitation-Book' are a popular *English* form of this original draft, enlarged by ritual injunctions for the guidance of his clergy, as well as modified in different ways. Very many of his extreme statements are *softened down* in the authorized Articles, as may be seen from the collations in Append. No. III.

³ Bampton Lectures, II. note (6).

testimony derivable from the work itself; for in the 'argument' prefixed by Joliffe, he admits that while some of 'the many Articles' were heretical and impious, others entitled to the name of 'catholic' had been artfully interspersed, in order that the simple and incautious might be the more easily led astray¹. In such a case, it is evident that we can hope to recover the Articles of 1552, from the records of the Worcester disputation, so far only as they were distasteful to the party who opposed the reformation-movement: and accordingly when we ascertain the subjects which were handled in the longer of these lists, but omitted in the shorter, we find them generally bearing upon questions which were common to the 'old' and the 'new learning,' and therefore unlikely to have called for rebuke from the champions of the 'Romish' tenets. It has been remarked, for example, as somewhat singular that the first Article of 1552, touching the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, has no equivalent definition in the report of the controversy between Hooper and the Worcester clergy, yet the existence of such an Article in the series which was actually submitted to their notice, appears to have been placed beyond reasonable doubt; for in the 'True Copy of Bishop Hooper's Visitation-Book,' there is an order to the following effect: 'That they faithfully teach and instruct the people committed unto their charge, that there is but one God, everlasting, incorporate, almighty, wise and good, Maker and Conserver of heaven and earth, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also He will be called upon by us. And albeit there be but one God in essence and unity in the Godhead, nevertheless in the same unity there be Three distinct Persons²,' &c. The same view is further illustrated by the first Article in Joliffe's

¹ 'Is (*i. e.* Hoperus) sub annum sextum Edouardi Regis VI. articulos multos, alios errore atque hæretica impietate plenos, alios *catholicos*, quo simplices et

incautos magis deciperet.... probandos subscriptione postulavit atque docendos obtrusit.' fol. 6.

² Art. II.

publication. It was chiefly directed against the errors not of the Romanizing but of the Anabaptist party, as we learn from a contemporary work¹, in which it has reappeared; yet as the closing observation was intended to glance at the scholastic dogma of a *repeated* oblation of our Lord in the sacrament of the altar, it was so far assailed in the reply of the Worcester prebendaries: and to this circumstance alone are we indebted for the preservation of all the Article.

Against
whom were
the Articles
directed?

But while the theory of archbishop Laurence, as to the number and nature of the original draft, is thus shewn to be wanting in solid proof, it may suggest an important investigation connected with the history of the Articles, and one which has not hitherto been pursued with the minuteness it deserves. What was the leading aim of the reformers in selecting the particular subjects which are handled in the Articles of 1552? On what principle may we explain the introduction of this point, or the omission of that? Were they designed to be a *complete system of theology*, or simply to express the judgment of the English Church on a variety of sacred topics at that time actually controverted within her own jurisdiction?

Internal evi-
dence on this
subject.

The internal evidence afforded in the solution of these queries may be stated in a few words. In

¹ The 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum,' in process of construction at the same time with the Articles, was the work of nearly the same hands, and is therefore an excellent commentary (see Todd's Cranmer, II. 325, seqq.) The section, 'de Hæresibus' contains a denunciation of those forms of misbelief, at that time existing in the Church, 'quarum præsens pestis in perniciem religionis nostrorum temporum, adhuc incubat.' In c. v. among other false opi-

nions reprobated by the compilers there is one quite identical with that which stands first in the Worcester controversy (cf. above p. 85): 'Qui errores omnes sacrarum Scripturarum autoritate sic corrigendi sunt ut Christus meliore natura Deus sempiternus accipiatur, et quidem æqualis sit Dei Patris; humana vero corpus habeat ex tempore factum, neque sæpius quam semel, neque ex alia materia quam ex Mariæ virginis vera et sola substantia.'

the title of the English Articles¹ as published by Grafton, in 1553, they are said to have been constructed with reference to '*certain matters of religion,*' and in all the copies, '*for the establishment of a godly concord and the avoiding of controversies*' apparently agitated at the time². Two of them (the eighth and the thirty-seventh) deny the errors of the Anabaptists upon original sin and a community of goods; four others (from the thirty-ninth to the forty-second) are directed against as many forms of misbelief affecting the resurrection, the state of the dead, the millenarian hypothesis, and the ultimate salvation of all men: the eighteenth anathematises all those who wilfully deny the necessity of the Gospel: while the twelfth and thirteenth reject '*the doctrine of the school-men*'³, touching human merit and works of supererogation; and the twenty-third touching purgatory, indulgences, and other tenets which were in like manner strenuously defended by the anti-reformation party.

¹ This translation, according to Dr Cardwell, was probably made concurrently with the original Articles, and under the same direction. Synod. i. 18.

² In the '*Reformatio Legum,*' where many of the Articles reappear in a somewhat different form, attention is distinctly confined to the heresies then in course of propagation. '*Posset magna colluvies aliarum hæresum accumulari, sed hoc tempore illas nominare solum volumus, quæ potissimum hisce nostris temporibus per ecclesiam diffunduntur.*' 22: ed. Oxon. 1850.

³ This phrase in the Articles of 1562 was exchanged for '*the Romish doctrine;*' the council of Trent having in the mean while spoken out distinctly and adopt-

ed as portions of the Christian faith many of the opinions, which had been long floating in the Church, and advocated in the schools. The council had commenced its sittings in Dec. 1545: they continued till 1549: after an interruption of two years they were resumed; but before the business of the synod was completed a very long suspension intervened, and did not expire till Jan. 18, 1562. The '*actions*' were then reopened, and finally confirmed by a papal bull bearing date Jan. 6, 1564. In several letters of the reformers we may observe the interest with which they were watching the contemporary disputations at Trent: e.g. Cranmer's Works, i. 346, 349.

Evidence
from the his-
tory of the
times.

But although we are not able to state from internal evidence what were the heresies proscribed in the rest of the XLII. Articles, we have reason for expecting to meet with them in the contemporaneous history of the Church¹. As in the case of the Augsburg Confession, from which those Articles have copied largely, they had an eye in the first instance to the existing necessities of the times, and were designed both as a protest against the scholastic corruptions, and as a curb on the licentiousness of private speculation, which the removal of the ancient yoke had too frequently occasioned. To borrow the strong but accurate language of a distinguished writer² on this period, 'the papal infallibility was sometimes transferred to the leader of a petty sect: at other times a dreaming enthusiast would become his own pope, and would consult nothing but the oracle within his own breast.' It was indeed a stirring crisis in the life of Western Europe, when the human soul, starting up from its long torpor and finding itself free, rushed headlong into the wildest misbelief or the darkest moral corruption; when the cold-hearted rationalist and the visionary mystic, presuming on their individual powers, overleapt all the boundaries of thought which had been imposed by the sacred Scriptures, and threatened to sweep away in their avenging blindness not only the mediæval errors, among which they had been nurtured, but also the purer exhibition of the Gospel revived by the Anglican Reformers.

The rise of
the 'Anabap-
tists.

The origin of these varied misbelievers may be

¹ This was certainly the view of Cranmer when he requested the continental reformers to take part in such a compilation: and Calvin understood him in this sense, as we read in a letter which he addressed to the Archbishop, while the English Articles were in progress. He there says that the doctors were invited, 'ut ex diversis ecclesiis,

quæ puram Evangelii doctrinam amplexi sunt, convenirent precipui quique doctores, ac ex puro Dei verbo certam *de singulis capitibus hodie controversis* ac delucidam ad posteros confessionem ederent.' Cranmer's Works, i. 347. Cf. Ridley's language, in Strype's Annals, i. 260; ed. 1725.

² Le Bas, Cranmer, ii. 88.

traced, in nearly all cases, to the scene¹ of the earlier collisions between the 'old' and the 'new learning.' Their first and fundamental error was the rejection of infant baptism; and to this peculiarity of their system they owe the name of 'Anabaptists.' Mistaking the language of Luther², as to the *universal* necessity of faith in the recipient of the holy sacraments, they postponed their administration of the initiatory rite until the subjects of it were (as they thought) actively exercising the pre-requisite conditions. But their divergencies from the doctrine of the reformers were not confined to this single point. They proceeded to assail the Lutheran tenet of justification by faith only, and in this way fell into the further question respecting the two natures of our blessed Lord. Hans Denk³, and others, affirmed that man may earn salvation by his own virtuous actions, and regarded the Founder of Christianity chiefly in His character of a Teacher. In Him, as one of the purest of our race, God was peculiarly manifested to the world, but to assert that He was our Saviour, in the received meaning of the term, was, in their view, to convert Him into an idol.

Their numerous heresies.

While these impious opinions were spreading on all sides⁴, a second school of 'Anabaptists' had been devising a very different creed⁵. They drew some

¹ 'It is a matter of the first importance that the Word of God should be preached here in German, to guard against the heresies which are introduced by our countrymen.' Micronius to Bullinger, in a letter dated London, May 20, 1550: 'Original Letters,' ed. P. S. 560.

² This connexion was manifest in the case of Storch, who had been a disciple of Luther. His inference was, however, vehemently confuted in the Catechismus Major, Pars IV. § 21, seqq., and elsewhere in the works

of the Saxon reformers, who uniformly maintained with Bp. Taylor, that faith and repentance are not *absolutely* necessary to the efficacy of the sacrament, but accidentally needed on account of the superinduced necessities of adults: Works, II. 248, ed. Eden.

³ Ranke, III. 559.

⁴ Ibid. 561, 562.

⁵ John Gastius 'De Anabaptistarum exordio,' &c. ed. Basil, 1544, has specified *seven* distinct sects, 496—501.

false and dualistic distinction between the 'spirit' and the 'flesh,' and instead of holding, like the former sect, that we may be saved by our own efforts, alleged that the flesh only participated in the fall, and that when, by impurity of living, it was most of all obnoxious to the indignation of God, the spirit was still free and uncontaminated by the vilest of the outward actions. They attributed the restoration of harmony between these two elements of our nature to the intervention of the Logos, but maintained that His humanity was altogether peculiar, deriving nothing from the substance of the Virgin. Not a few heightened the impiety of their creed, by abandoning the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and joining the Arian and Socinian schools, which were then rising in Switzerland, Italy, and Poland.

In addition to these extreme errors, some of the foreign Anabaptists inculcated the dogma of an absolute necessity; others preached the restoration of all things, and the final conversion of the devil; others maintained that the soul will sleep during the interval which elapses between death and judgment; while the majority of them were cherishing the belief that a millennial kingdom would be speedily established, and would subsist without any external magistracy, or without the guidance of the Written Word. In connexion with this hope, they asserted the strictest community of goods; they refused all military service of a merely secular kind, and objected to the taking of an oath in negotiations with the world around them; some also held the observance of the Lord's-day to be plainly anti-christian; others advocated polygamy, and affirmed even that to those who had received the Spirit, or the Anabaptist rite of initiation, adultery was no sin. All, however, were agreed in rejecting the authority both of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, denouncing the latter as an intolerable burden, and proclaiming the right of every Christian to circulate his creed, unrestrained by human legislation, or by the discipline of the Church.

If we add to this sketch of continental Anabaptism¹ another of its prominent features, we shall understand how formidable it must have looked in the eyes of the English reformers. It was a first principle of the sect that all who were duly initiated were not only able, but *bound* to execute the office of a teacher, as soon as they perceived within them the motions of the Holy Spirit. The effect of this immediate inspiration made them at once independent of the Sacred Volume, which they ventured to characterize as 'a mere dead letter,' obsolete in itself, and in the course of its transmission so falsified by man as to be unworthy of the faith of Christians. In this way the last outward check on the presumptuous speculations of the individual mind was summarily demolished, and the entire system of Christianity abandoned to the fluctuations of the fevered fancy².

The precise date when the Anabaptist teachers found their way into England has not been handed down by the chroniclers of the period. As the sect had no single leader and no peculiar locality, its movements were desultory and obscure, and, at first, somewhat difficult to follow. In the year 1538, however, its appearance in the country was enough to attract the attention of the government, and to call out the royal commission adverted to above³. A

The rise and progress of 'Anabaptism' in England.

¹ These and other errors may be seen at large in Zwingli's 'Elenchus contra Catabaptistas;' Melancthon's 'Propositions against the Doctrine of the Anabaptists' (German), in Luther's *Schriften*, xx. 2089 seqq. ed. 1745, where other evidence is given (2072—2229); Bullinger's work 'Adversus omnia Catabaptistarum prava Dogmata,' ed. Tiguri, 1535. See also Ranke, *ubi sup.* and Möhler's *Symbolik*, II. 155—188.

² Möhler, *Symbolik*, II. 173.

³ See above, p. 41. For other traces of them at this period, see 'Institution of a Christian Man,' 93, 94; Wilkins, III. 843, 847. By 32 Hen. VIII. c. 49. § 11, all who held the following tenets were excluded from the pardon which had been granted by the King, in July, 1540: 'That infants ought not to be baptised, and if they be baptised they ought to be re-baptised when they com to lafull age: That it is not leafull for a Christen man to beare office or rule in

letter, written at the same time, by some of the German princes¹, implied that the revolutionary spirits who had long troubled the foreign reformers were actively propagating their tenets on this side of the channel: but the strong measures adopted by Henry for their immediate extermination, continued to retard their progress during the remainder of his reign. On the accession of Edward, the vigilance of the executive appears to have been relaxed; for they now rose into a considerable body, beginning 'to look abroad and to disperse their dotages².' They flourished more particularly in Kent and Essex³; and Hooper, who was remarkable for his zeal against them, has left us a frightful picture of the extremity of their errors. In writing to Bullinger, June 25, 1549, he says: 'The Anabaptists flock to the place [*i.e.* of his lecture], and give me much trouble with their opinions respecting the Incarnation of our Lord; for they

the Commen Welth: That no mans lawes ought to be obeyed: That it is not leafull for a Christen man to take an othe before any judge: That Christe toke no bodily substaunce of our blessed lady: That Synners aftre baptisme cannot be restored by repentaunce: That every maner of Death, with the tyme and houre thereof, is so certainly prescribed, appointed and determined to every man of God, that neither any prince by his sworde can alte it, ne any man by his owne wilfulnes prevent or chaunge it: That all things be common and nothing severall.'

¹ Seckendorf, lib. III. sect. XVII. § LXVI. p. 181. The princes affirm that besides the hostility of Anabaptism to the civil magistrate, it had introduced an endless confusion of opinions, deny-

ing the Divinity and the two natures of Christ as well as original sin, and propagating false and absurd notions on the doctrine of justification.

² Heylin, Hist. Reform, I. 153; ed. E. H. S.: Carte, II. 252. The latter authority, quoting Strype, mentions a very strange circumstance connected with the spread of Anabaptism. A letter dated Delft, May 12, 1549, was addressed to bishop Gardiner acquainting him that in consequence of the projected organisation of the reformers, it became necessary to introduce divisions among them, and that this would be best effected by preaching up the Anabaptist doctrines.

³ Original Letters, ed. P. S. 87.

deny altogether that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary according to the flesh. They contend, that a man who is reconciled to God is without sin, and free from all stain of concupiscence, and that nothing of the old Adam remains in his nature; and a man, they say, who is thus regenerate cannot sin. They add, that all hope of pardon is taken away from those who, after having received the Holy Ghost, fall into sin. They maintain a fatal necessity, and that beyond and besides that will of His, which He has revealed to us in the Scriptures, God hath another will by which He altogether acts under some kind of necessity... How dangerously our England is affected by heresies of this kind, God only knows: I am unable indeed, from sorrow of heart, to express to your piety. There are some who deny that man is endued with a soul different from that of a beast, and subject to decay. Alas! not only are these heresies reviving among us which were formerly dead and buried, but new ones are springing up every day. There are such libertines and wretches who are daring enough in their conventicles, not only to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed Seed a mischievous fellow, and deceiver of the world. On the other hand, a great portion of the kingdom so adheres to the popish faction as altogether to set at naught God and the lawful authority of the magistrates; so that I am greatly afraid of a rebellion and civil discord¹.

While Hooper and others like him were thus combating the errors by which they were daily beset in the midst of their parochial ministrations, a royal commission was vigorously at work in aid of the same object. Many of the leading misbelievers were either compelled to recant, or were soon condemned, in the language of the time, 'to bear their faggots at Paul's cross.' The record of the proceedings against them very frequently discloses the nature of their errors;

Royal commission
against it,
1548.

¹ Ibid. 65, 66: cf. Hooper's English 'Articles,' § 6.

The introduction of Arianism.

and while some, like Champneys¹, do not appear to have been directly impugning the fundamental articles of the faith, others, like Assheton², had openly denied the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of our Saviour³. Indeed the very fearful spread of Arian and Socinian tenets was deplored by a contemporary writer, as one of the greatest evils at that time poisoning the life-blood of the Church, and perplexing the spirits of her teachers. 'We have not only (he writes) to contend with the papists, who are almost everywhere ashamed of their errors, but much more with the sectaries, and Epicureans, and pseudo-evangelicals⁴. In addition to the ancient errors⁵ respecting pædo-baptism, the Incarnation of Christ, the authority of the magistrate, the [lawfulness of an] oath, the property and community of goods, and the like, *new ones are rising up every day*, with which we have to contend. The chief opponents, however, of Christ's divinity are the Arians, *who are now beginning to shake our Churches with greater violence than ever*, as they deny the conception of Christ by the Virgin⁶.'

¹ Strype, Cranmer, II. 92, 93. Among the propositions maintained by him were the following: (1) That a man, after he is regenerate in Christ, cannot sin: (2) That the outward man might sin, but the inward man could not: (3) That God doth permit to all His elect people their bodily necessities of all worldly things.

² Ibid. 95.

³ Joan of Kent was burnt May 2, 1550, for maintaining a heresy like that of the early Valentinians. She denied that our Lord took flesh of the Virgin, from a persuasion that He would in that case have shared the sinfulness of man's nature. See above, p. 87, note (2).

⁴ Otherwise called 'Gospelers.' For a sketch of them at this period, see Becon's Works, (Catechism, &c.) 415, 416. ed. P. S.

⁵ The letter is dated London, Aug. 14, 1551.

⁶ Original Letters, ed. P. S. 574: cf. 560. Among other subjects of inquiry during Hooper's visitation in this same year, he asks 'Whether any of them speak unreverently of God the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost?' Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 355. The same spirit of profaneness had before occasioned a legislative enactment, 1 Edw. VI., c. 1: 'An Act against such as shall unreverently speak against the Sacrament of the Altar,' &c.

A further commission, which emanated from the royal council in Sept. 1552, enjoins the Archbishop to institute proceedings against a sect 'newly sprung up in Kent¹.' Neither the name nor the character of this sect has been distinctly put on record, but there is reason to conclude that it was the first wave of an inundation which afterwards created the greatest confusion in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Becon², writing at the time of their introduction, entitles them 'Davidians' classing their 'wicked and ungodly opinions' with those of the Anabaptists and the Libertines. Their subsequent appellation was the 'Family of Love,' under which title they grew up into a large and formidable body. Their leader and champion was a native of Amsterdam³, Henry Nicholas by name, and the following is one of his directions to all who would join his standard: 'They must pass four most terrible castles full of cumbersome enemies, before they come to the House of Love; the first is, of John Calvin, the second the papists, the third Martin Luther, the fourth the Anabaptists; and passing these dangers they may be of the Family, else not⁴.'

A fresh commission, 1552;

probably directed against the 'Family of Love.'

If we now add to this crowd of foreign assailants, the unhappy divisions which had sprung up in the heart of the English Church,—the bitter altercations on the use of the vestments⁵, and other ecclesiastical

Domestic controversies.

¹ Strype, Cranmer, II. 410.

² Works, (Catechism, &c.), 415. ed. P. S. The name *Davidians* is derived from 'David George,' a co-founder of the 'Family of Love.' In a letter written from London, May 20, 1550, it is stated that 'there are Arians, Marcionists, Libertines, *Danists*, and the like monstrosities, in great numbers.' Original Letters, ed. P. S. 560. The editor has added no explanation of this term, but may it not be intended for *Davists* or *Davidians*?

³ The displaying of an horrible secte of grosse and wicked Heretiques, naming themselves the Family of Love, &c., by John Rogers, Lond. 1579, sign. A. iiij.

⁴ Ibid. A. iiij. b.

⁵ This vexed question, together with a second one respecting the posture on receiving the Lord's Supper, seems to have been opened by à Lasco. Heylin, Hist. Ref. I. 193, 194. It was very stoutly contested by Hooper on one side, and Ridley on the other. Original Letters,

‘traditions;’ or the scandal which had been raised by the controversies respecting the nature of the Divine decrees¹, and many kindred tenets,—we shall have no difficulty in appreciating the fitness of the Articles which attempted, at this very feverish epoch, to establish a more ‘godly concord in certain matters of religion.’

Distinct ob-
ject of the
Articles.

Let us turn, therefore, to the document itself² and endeavour in the light of contemporaneous history to point out the primary aim of its several definitions.

Art. I.

The first article ‘Of Faith in the Holy Trinity,’ is almost verbatim from the Augsburg Confession, and while condemning the heresy of Servetus³, like the corresponding article of its prototype, it glanced at the system of Lælius Socinus, and a number of anti-trinitarian teachers, who were loud in their denial of the catholic doctrine.

Art. II.

The second article, respecting the Incarnation of the Word, is also derived from the Augsburg Confession. The truth which it undertook to vindicate was strenuously assailed by the Anabaptists⁴ and others, who are described at length in the ‘*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*’⁵, as actually infesting the Church of England.

Art. III.

The doctrine asserted in the third article (‘Of the going down into Hell’) was in like manner agitated in this country at the time we are now considering⁶. The violence of the controversy to which it had given rise induced the Convocation of 1562 to drop the concluding clause as it stood in the present version⁷.

ed. P. S. 486, 586; and more particularly, 672, 673, or Strype’s Cranmer, II. 208. seqq.

¹ Below, 100, 101, 102. For some account of disputes on the subject of justification, see a letter of John à Lasco, written from Croyden, in Gerdes’ Miscell. II. 678.

² See Appendix, No. III. where they are printed both in English

and Latin.

³ See above, p. 26.

⁴ See above, pp. 91, 94.

⁵ De Hæresibus, c. v.

⁶ Original Letters, ed. P. S. 561, (dated, London, May 20, 1550.)

⁷ See Strype, Annals of Reform, I. 348, ed. 1725. See the various theories on this subject in Strype’s Whitgift, 504, ed. 1718.

The fourth article, on the 'Resurrection of Christ,' Art. iv. is a complement of the second and third, affirming the proper manhood of our Saviour, against the errors of the Anabaptists. The particular fact of His resurrection had been also distinctly impugned by a Silesian knight, named Gaspar Schwenkfels¹, who died in 1561, and the heresy which he persisted in defending was doubtless inculcated by others of the same proselyting faction.

The fifth article, on the 'Sufficiency of Holy Scripture,' Art. v. appears to have been originally constructed with a two-fold application. It asserted the necessity of scriptural proof for every doctrine of the Church, in reply to scholastic and Tridentine errors on the subject of 'the Word unwritten²;' and also condemned the opposite misbelievers, whom we have seen disparaging the authority of the Bible, as compared with the immediate and fanatical inspirations, of which they were the favoured channel³. It is at the same time careful in the second clause to guard against a prevailing error, which maintained that all the usages of the Church must be clearly deducible from Holy Scripture⁴.

The sixth article, on a due reverence for the Old Art. vi. Testament, was manifestly levelled at the Anabaptist teachers⁵, many of whom, like Servetus, denied that

¹ Hey, On the Articles, II. 388: Camb. 1798.

² See above, pp. 46, 47. The Council of Trent had stereotyped this error, in the year 1546. Sarpi, I. 266; ed. Courayer.

³ 'In quo genere teterrimi illi sunt, (itaque a nobis primum nominabuntur,) qui sacras scripturas ad infirmorum tantum hominum debilitatem ablegant et detrudunt, sibi sic ipsi interim præfidentes, ut earum autoritate se teneri non putent, sed *peculiarem quendam spiritum jactant*,

a quo sibi omnia suppeditari aiunt, quæcunque docent et faciunt.' Reform. Leg. Eccl. de Hæresibus, c. 3. Alley (Poore Mans Librarie, I. 171, a) speaks of 'Swinckfeldians and other fantastick heades, which do deprave the holye Scripture:' Lond. 1565.

⁴ See above, p. 22.

⁵ 'Multi nostris temporibus inveniuntur, inter quos Anabaptistæ præcipue sunt collocandi, ad quos si quis vetus Testamentum alleget, illud pro abrogato

the elder worthies had even the most indefinite expectation of a life beyond the present¹.

Art. VII.

The seventh article, like the first of those which had been published in 1536, accepted the authoritative definitions contained in the Three Creeds, and by this act condemned all the heresies both of modern and of ancient growth, which had assailed the fundamental verities of the Gospel.

Art. VIII.

The eighth article, 'Of Original or Birth Sin,' is directed against the early misbelief which had been propagated by Pelagius and his party; 'whiche also the Anabaptistes² doe now-a-daies renue.' Like the second of the Augsburg Articles, from which it was evidently drawn, it may also be intended to glance at the errors of the schoolmen touching the absolute *extirpation* of sin by the sacrament of baptism, or even at the formal determinations on that subject, which had been recently established in the Council of Trent³.

Art. IX.

The ninth article, 'Of Free Will,' is intimately related to the one preceding, and was intended to repel the Anabaptist errors on the subject of preventing and co-operating grace⁴.

Art. X.

The tenth article, 'Of Grace,' was a reply to an opposite error entertained by a second school of Anabaptists⁵, and also by some of the more violent reformers, who went under the name of Gospellers⁶. They pushed their belief in predestination so far as to render the acts of man altogether involuntary, and to attribute his *evil* choice to the direct agency of his Maker.

jam et obsoleto penitus habent, omnia quæ in illo posita sunt ad prisca majorum nostrorum tempora referentes.' Reform. Leg. Eccl. *ibid.* c. 4.

¹ Calvin, Instit. Lib. II. c. 10. § 1: cf. Gastius, de Anabaptist. 305.

² Cf. Reform. Leg. Eccl. *ibid.* c. 7.

³ See above, p. 26, note (2).

The question had been decided by the Tridentine divines, June 17, 1546: Sarpi, I. 319.

⁴ See above, p. 91. This reference is clearly established by the testimony of the 'Reformatio Legum,' *ibid.* c. 7.

⁵ See Bp Hooper's Letter, above cited, p. 95.

⁶ Hooper's Early Writings, 421, ed. P. S.

The eleventh article, touching our justification ‘by Art. xi. only faith in Jesus Christ,’ coincides with the fourth of the Augsburg Articles, and like it was primarily directed against the notions of human merit, which had been long taught, more or less distinctly, in the whole of the Western Church¹. It was also designed to include under the range of its animadversion the kindred tenets of the Anabaptists on the same vital question².

The twelfth article, entitled ‘Works before Jus- Art. xii. tification,’ repudiates the error of certain ‘scholae-
aucthores,’ who had affirmed, and were still affirming, that the favour of God is recoverable (or that man may be *entitled to receive grace*), in consideration of the merit of actions, which resulted from his own strength, or had been wrought independently of the Holy Spirit³.

The thirteenth article, on ‘Works of Supereroga- Art. xiii. tion,’ is in like manner levelled against a well-known scholastic figment⁴.

The fourteenth article, affirming that our blessed Art. xiv. Lord was alone born without sin, impugns the ‘Romish’ doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin⁵.

The fifteenth, ‘Of Sin against the Holy Ghost,’ is Art. xv. derived for the most part from the Augsburg Confession, and asserts the remissibility of sins committed after baptism. The errors broached on this subject in the primitive Church, were revived (as we have seen) by the Anabaptists at the time of the Reformation⁶.

The sixteenth article, entitled ‘Blasphemy against Art. xvi. the Holy Ghost,’ defines the nature of this unpardon-

¹ For the existence of a sounder doctrine, even among the schoolmen, see Field, *On the Church*, App. Book III. c. xii.

² See above, p. 91; and compare Reform. Legum Eccl. *ibid.* c. 7.

³ The Dominicans, at the council of Trent, condemned this idea of merit *de congruo* as

Pelagian: Sarpi, I. 344.

⁴ Cf. Reformat. Legum Eccl. *ibid.* c. 8: Field, *On the Church*, App. Book III. c. xiii.: Joliffe against Hooper, fol. 175.

⁵ See Field, *ibid.* c. vi. Joliffe against Hooper, fol. 165.

⁶ See above, p. 95, and compare Reform. Leg. Eccl. *ibid.* c. 9.

able sin, apparently with the view of removing the strong temptations to despair, which had been introduced by the misbelief proscribed in the former article.

Art. xvii.

The seventeenth article, 'Of Predestination and Election,' was designed to allay the numerous altercations which had been raised in the reforming body¹, as well as in the older 'schools,' by these deeply speculative topics. It is at the same time careful to guard against the fatalistic errors, into which 'curious and carnal persons' had fallen from a one-sided view of the doctrines in question².

Art. xviii.

The eighteenth article is manifestly intended to condemn the assertion of the Anabaptists³, that, provided men are sincere in following their own systems, the rejection of the one Saviour of the world will not hinder their salvation.

Art. xix.

The nineteenth is directed against another branch of the same faction⁴, who, under the plea of internal illumination had dispensed with the moral law, and circulated opinions respecting it 'most evidently repugnant to the Holy Scripture.'

Art. xx.

The twentieth article, while defining the Church⁵

¹ Many of the particulars of these disputes have been transcribed by archbishop Laurence, from a MS. in the Bodleian, and published under the title 'Authentic Documents relating to the Predestinarian Controversy.' For still earlier traces of it, see Bp Gardiner's 'Declaration' (against George Joye), fol. LI. seqq. Lond. 1546.

² The prevalence of these perversions is thus noted in the 'Reformatio Legum': 'Ad extremum in Ecclesia multi feris et dissolutis moribus vivunt, qui eum re ipsa curiosi sint, differti luxu, et a Christi Spiritu prorsus alieni, semper prædestinationem

et rejectionem, vel, *ut usitate loquuntur*, reprobationem, in sermone jactant.' Ibid. c. 22.

³ See above, p. 91: cf. 'Reformatio Legum,' which characterizes this error as 'horribilis et immanis audacia.' Ibid. c. 11.

⁴ See above, p. 92.

⁵ The Worcester prebendaries thought this definition imperfect on account of its silence touching the *oneness* of the Church, and the 'continuous succession of the vicars of Christ.' They admit that the Roman Church had erred in the 'agenda' of religion, but not in the 'credenda.' fol. 80: cf. Reform. Leg. Ibid. c. 21.

in terms very similar to those employed in the seventh of the Augsburg Articles, proceeds to repel a prevalent objection respecting the infallibility of the particular Church of Rome.

The twenty-first article, 'Of the Authority of the Church,' was directed in like manner against the Romanizing party¹, and though it claims for the Church the prerogative of acting as a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, pronounces her incompetent to decree anything at variance with that record. Art. XXI.

The twenty-second article, 'Of the Authority of General Councils,' vindicates the right of the civil power in convoking such assemblies, from the later encroachments of the pope; and maintains that some of the councils reputed 'general' at the time of the Reformation², had actually fallen into error. Art. XXII.

The twenty-third pronounces the doctrine of school-authors, concerning purgatory, image-worship, and other similar superstitions³, to be follies and figments unsupported by holy Scripture, or rather repugnant to its teaching. Art. XXIII.

The twenty-fourth is manifestly levelled against the Anabaptist error, that every one who fancied himself called to the work of the ministry was bound to assume the office of a teacher in defiance of the authority of the Church. It is based on the fourteenth of the Augsburg Articles⁴. Art. XXIV.

The twenty-fifth declares, in opposition to the Romanizing party, that the language of the public Art. XXV.

¹ Joliffe against Hooper, fol. 82, 83.

² The 'Reformatio Legum,' is an excellent commentary on the meaning of this Article. It declares that we reverently accept the four great œcumenical councils, and defer to the decisions of many of the later synods, so far as they upheld the fundamentals of religion. De Summa Trinitate et Fide

Catholica, c. 14.

³ Cf. Reform. Leg. de Hæresibus, c. 10, and Joliffe against Hooper, fol. 90. seqq. It is remarkable that the copy of this Article, as signed by the royal chaplains, (see above, p. 80) contains a censure of 'praying for the dead,' which had been subsequently dropped.

⁴ See above, p. 28: and comp. Reform. Leg. Ibid. c. 16.

Service-Books should be intelligible to the body of the people.

Art. xxvi.

The twenty-sixth article, 'Of the Sacraments,' had a two-fold application to the circumstances of the times. The first and second clauses were designed to limit the number of evangelical rites to which the term 'sacrament' may be properly affixed, and to guard against the error of supposing that Baptism and the Eucharist produce their effects without any regard to the state of their subjects. The third clause is, on the contrary, directed like the ninth of the Thirteen Articles, against the prevailing Zwinglian notion, that sacraments were no more than empty rites and external badges¹.

Art. xxvii.

The twenty-seventh, which is included in the fifth of the Thirteen Articles, maintains, in opposition to the sectaries of the day², that the validity of sacraments is unimpaired by the personal unfitness of the clergy.

Art. xxviii.

The twenty-eighth, 'Of Baptism,' is a continuation of the censure which had been passed with reference to both the 'sacraments of the Gospel' in Article XXVI. It distinctly affirms that baptism is far more than a professional badge or barely outward symbol, and proceeds to vindicate 'the custom of the Church' in her retention of *infant* baptism³.

Art. xxix.

The twenty-ninth, 'Of the Lord's Supper,' while

¹ This intention is clearly established by the testimony of the 'Reformatio Legum.' In speaking of the 'heresies' then current, it observes: 'Magna quoque temeritas illorum est, qui sacramenta sic extenuant, ut ea pro nudis signis, et externis tantum indiciis capi velint, quibus tanquam nobis hominum Christianorum religio possit a cæteris internosci, nec animadvertunt quantum sit scelus, hæc sancta Dei instituta inania et vacua credere.' Ibid. c. 17; cf. Bp

Latimer's Remains, 252; ed. P.S.

² The same authority speaks of Anabaptists, who separated from the Lord's Table on the plea that they were deterred, 'vel ministrorum improbitate, vel aliorum fratrum,' c. 15. Luther (as quoted by Dr Hey, iv. 255.) says of them: 'Anabaptistæ propter hominum vitia vel indignitatem damnant verum baptismum:' cf. Alley, Poore Mans Librarie, i. 242, b.

³ Ibid. c. 18. 'de Baptismo,' where we have a glimpse of cer-

avoiding the errors of the Zwinglian school, condemns the opposite dogma of a physical transubstantiation in the elements, as repugnant to the Word of God, and as inconsistent with the true humanity of our Saviour and his local residence in heaven¹.

The thirtieth article, like the third in the Second Part of the Augsburg Formulary, affirms the perfection of the one sacrifice which our Lord offered on the cross, in reply to the current misbelief touching the *repetition* of that offering in 'the sacrifices of masses.' Art. xxx.

The thirty-first article is aimed at the mediæval error which regarded the marriage of the clergy as absolutely sinful². Art. xxxi.

The thirty-second and thirty-third relate to the internal discipline and usages of the Church, which had been made the subjects of vehement disputation in the reign of Edward VI.³ The former denounces the excommunicate as unfit for the society of Christians; the latter declares that 'traditions,' or ecclesiastical rites and customs, may not be violated by any at the mere impulse of his 'private judgment.' It is observable that the language of the second of these laws is borrowed from Art. V. of the Thirteen Articles. Art. xxxii.
Art. xxxiii.

The thirty-fourth simply authorises the use of the First Book of Homilies, which had been circulating with the royal sanction since 1547. Art. xxxiv.

The thirty-fifth, in like manner, authorises and commends the Ordinal and the Service-Book which had been previously put forth 'by the king and the parliament,' in 1550 and 1552. Art. xxxv.

The thirty-sixth, 'Of Civil Magistrates,' is directed partly against the Romanizing faction who continued to assert the supremacy of the pope⁴, and partly

tain errors rising, it would seem, out of an opposite quarter. One of them attributed the effects of baptism to a physical virtue in the element employed; a second absolutely denied the possibility of salvation without

the intervention of the sacrament.

¹ Cf. Reform. Leg. Ibid. c. 19.

² Cf. the third of the 'Six Articles,' 67, note (3).

³ See above, p. 97, note (5).

⁴ Reform. Leg. Ibid. c. 21.

against the Anabaptists, who impugned the rights of the civil power and the lawfulness of war¹.

Art. xxxvii.

Art. xxxviii.

The thirty-seventh and the thirty-eighth are levelled at the same revolutionary spirits, the one proscribing their notion of a community of goods, the other refuting their scruples on the subject of taking oaths².

Art. xxxix.

Art. xl.

Art. xli.

Art. xlii.

The four remaining articles, three of which were drawn from the Augsburg Confession, are condemnatory of four other notions zealously inculcated in the reign of Edward VI. by the Anabaptist teachers³. The first determines, that the resurrection of the dead will extend also to the body, and has not been already finished in the quickening of the soul. The second, that the spirit does not perish with the body, and is still possessed of its former consciousness in the state of separation; the third, that the heretical fable of the 'Millenarii' is repugnant to the Word of God; the fourth, that to believe in the ultimate recovery of all men is a false and a deadly notion.

What was
the authority
of the XLII.
Articles?

Having thus shewn in detail the intimate bearing of the XLII. Articles on the circumstances of the times in which they were compiled, it remains for us to consider the amount of the *authority* by which they could originally challenge the adherence of the Church.

This consideration will resolve itself into an inquiry which has been the cause of vehement debates among the historians of the period:

Were the Articles of 1552 ever formally submitted to the English Convocation, or were they circulated during the brief remainder of this reign on the sole authority of the royal council?

The latter view has been adopted by writers of opposite theological opinions, as well as of considerable weight in all questions of this nature⁴, and

¹ Ibid. c. 13. See above, p. 92.

² Reform. Legum, c. 14, and c. 15.

³ See above, pp. 92, 95: and

compare Reform. Leg. Ibid. c. 12.

⁴ Palmer, Treatise on the Church, i. 388. 3rd ed.; Burnet, iii. 361. seqq.; Lamb, His-

therefore is entitled to a full and impartial examination. They rest it mainly on the fact, that the registers of the Convocation, which had been summoned for March 19, 1552¹, (*i. e.* in modern language 1553), contain no mention of the Articles; being 'but one degree above blanks,' and 'scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein².'

Objections to the convocational authority of the Articles of 1552.

So long, however, as we may explain the absence of this public testimony, either on the supposition of carelessness in the time of Edward, or of deliberate mutilation in the following reign, it will create no absolute presumption against the synodical authority of the Articles. The Convocation *may* have been 'barren,' (to use Fuller's phraseology), because its proceedings were either unreported or subsequently destroyed, and therefore we cannot follow him in drawing the conclusion that it had 'no commission from the king to meddle with Church-business.'

Answer.

But it is alleged, in the second place, that the title prefixed to the Articles of 1552 betrays a like want of ecclesiastical sanction. They are merely said to have been agreed on 'by the bishops and *other learned men*, in the synod at London' ('*inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros*³): whereas, in the subsequent promulga-

Objection 2.

torical Account of xxxix. Articles, 4, 5.

¹ Wake, *State of the Church*, 598; yet he adds in the next page, that the Convocation actually *met* on the 2nd of March.

² This is the statement of Fuller, (*Church Hist.* 420, 421. fol. ed.), who had the opportunity of examining the records, and Heylin (i. 256.) so far agrees with him, remarking that 'the acts of this Convocation were so ill kept, that there remains nothing on record touching their proceedings, except it be names of such of the bishops as came thither to adjourn the house.'

³ Heylin has struck out a theory by which this language is readily explained, but the theory is itself altogether conjectural; unless indeed he was alluding to the commission for framing ecclesiastical laws (see below, p. 108). He thinks that the lower house of Convocation, to whom the Articles were submitted, 'had devolved their power on some grand committee, sufficiently authorised to debate, conclude, and publish what they had concluded in the name of the rest.' i. 257.

A somewhat kindred solution has been proposed by Dr Card-

tion of them in 1562, they are described as 'agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the *whole clergy*,' &c.

Answer.

The apparent vagueness of the former statement is not, however, unparalleled in the contemporary records of the Church, even when no doubt can possibly exist touching the convocational authority of the document to which that language is applied¹. The argument drawn from this source must therefore be deemed as inconclusive as the one adverted to above.

Objection 3.

A third reason for disputing the synodical approbation of the Articles is based upon the language of Cranmer and Philpot, when questioned on this very subject at the opening of the reign of Mary.

It has been already noticed, that when the Articles were published in 1553, they appeared both in a separate form and in the company of a certain 'Catechism.' Of this second work a complaint was introduced by Weston (the prolocutor of the Convocation, which had assembled in the following autumn), to the effect that 'it bore the name of the honourable synod, although, as he understood, *put forth without their consent*.' Philpot², who was present as archdeacon of Winchester, explained at some length in what way 'it might be well said to be done in the Synod of London,' although the members of the present house 'had no notice thereof before the promulgation.' According to his view the clergy had authorised certain persons to make ecclesiastical laws³, and had concentrated in this committee their own synodical rights: but Cranmer in his 'Disputation at Oxford,' in April, 1554,

well, who, while admitting the synodical authority of these Articles, supposes that the sanction of the upper House was given, if not directly, at least by delegation; and that this sanction was considered to involve the ratification of the whole synod. Synod. i. 4, 5.

¹ See above, p. 48: and compare 'British Critic' for 1829; vi. 84.

² Fox, 1410. The date was Oct. 20.

³ He must have alluded to the Commission appointed in 1551 to draw up the 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.'

appears to have given a somewhat different solution. When charged by Weston with publishing 'a Catechism in the name of the synod of London,' he replied¹, 'I was ignorant of the *setting to of that title*; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it; therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth *in the time of the Convocation*.' Both these testimonies, however, agree in denying that the *Catechism* in question had ever been formally submitted to the synodical revision of the clergy: and if the *Articles* are necessarily implicated in the disclaimers here adduced, we are compelled to accept the hypothesis that they were put in circulation by the civil power without obtaining the approval of the Church.

But no such necessity exists for involving any more than the Catechism itself, within the purport of Weston's censure. The *Articles*, as we have seen, were an independent publication², and although they were associated in some of the early copies with a more extensive work, there is not enough reason for believing that they were originally regarded as a mere appendage to it³. While it is declared to have been put forth 'by *certain* bishops and other learned men⁴,'

Answer.

¹ Cranmer's Works, iv. 64, 65.

² See above, p. 82, and note (1).

³ See Bp Maddox, *Vindication of the Church of England*, 309. ed. 1733. The only instance where the two works *seem* to be actually united is found in the language of Cranmer above quoted, p. 79, note (4), but this does not imply more than their publication in the same volume, which we have seen was not unusual.

⁴ See the royal Injunction prefixed to the Catechism of Edw. VI. (ed. P. S.). The date

is '20 Maii, anno regni 7,' (*i. e.* 1553). It is probable that Weston alluded to this expression when he spoke of the Catechism as claiming to have been set forth by *Convocation*: for there is no statement of that kind in the work itself, although Mr Lathbury (145, 146) affirms that it was so sanctioned in 1552. A very competent writer in the '*British Critic*' for 1829, (vi. 85, 86,) to whom this part of our inquiry is much indebted, has shewn cause for suspecting that the Catechism censured in the

they claim to be the work of '*the* bishops,' and to have been agreed on by the Church assembled in Convocation. And as a further corroboration of the distinctness existing between these two contemporary publications, it is remarkable that notwithstanding the many animadversions¹ which the Catechism excited in the reign of Mary, the *Articles* are never once treated, in all the surviving records, as if they had been published *unfairly*, or rather the assailant of the former work, appears to acknowledge the authority which *they* had repeatedly assumed. We may, accordingly, conclude in this case as in others, that no adequate reasons have been urged for denying the synodical approbation of the latter Formulary of Faith.

But, on the other hand, there is *positive* proof that it was submitted to the southern Convocation in the year 1552, and if not actually debated in that body, at least very generally sanctioned and subscribed.

Positive evidence of synodical authority.

The language of the title in every existing copy of the Articles has expressly affirmed their ratification 'in the last synod of London.' They are publicly recited as possessing this authority on their subsequent revival and enactment in the Convocation of 1562², and it is almost incredible that such an assumption should have been allowed to pass unchallenged,

reign of Mary, was *not* the one usually called the Catechism of Edw. VI., but some other book with which we are now unacquainted. Still the evidence seems slightly to preponderate in favour of the identification. It is not very improbable that such a manual was printed in September 1552, and that a royal injunction to schoolmasters was prefixed to a *subsequent* edition in the spring of 1553. Strype thinks that the injunction for printing it was *suspended* in order that it might be submitted to the following Convocation.

¹ Two instances are given above, p. 108. A third is supplied by the account of Bp Ridley's Examination (Fox, 1449), who distinctly disclaimed the authorship of the 'Catechism,' but admitted with regard to the Articles, 'They were set out, I both willing and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same.'

² Reg. Convocat. in Bennett, Essay on the Thirty-Nine Articles, 167: 'Ulterius proposuit (*i. e.* the Prolocutor) quod *Articuli in Synodo Londoniensi tempore nuper regis, Edw. VI^{ti}. (ut asseruit) editi,* &c.

especially by men like archbishop Parker, and in the midst of a critical synod, if the document were not really invested with the sanction which it claims. Our belief in the veracity of this language is still more strongly established by a communication from the visitors to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge¹ (June 1, 1553), in which they speak of the Articles as having been prepared by good and learned men, and agreed upon *in the synod of London*: and also by a contemporary letter² of Sir John Cheke to Bullinger (June 7, 1553), where he informs his correspondent that the *Articles of the synod at London* were then published by the royal order.

If further evidence be needed in support of their convocational authority, it may be gathered out of the memorials of a controversy on the subject of the clerical vestments³ in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. When certain ministers of London disputed the 'tradition' of the Church, and exposed themselves to the censure of the Article for securing a public agreement on this and other similar questions, it was urged against them by an advocate of order⁴, that

¹ 'Cum antea in reintegranda religione multum denique regiae Majestatis autoritate et bonorum atque eruditorum virorum judiciis sit elaboratum, et *de Articulis quibusdam in synodo Londoniensi*, A.D. 1553, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem conclusum, equissimum judicavimus eosdem regiae autoritate promulgatos et omnibus episcopis ad meliorem dioceseos suae administrationem traditos, vobis etiam commendare et visitationis nostrae autoritate præcipere etc.' From a MS. in C. C. C. quoted by Dr Lamb, *Historical Account*, 4, 5, note. This Convocation is placed in the year 1553, because it continued until April 1. It assem-

bled in the early part of the month preceding, and therefore in what was (according to ecclesiastical computation) the year 1552.

² *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. 142.

³ 'An Answer for the Time,' printed in 1566, with other Tracts on the same question. It seems to have first arrested the attention of archbishop Wake, (*State of the Church*, 599, 600). A copy is in the Cambridge University Library, marked G. 6, 84.

⁴ 151—153. The Examiner appeals to 'the determination of this Church in Englande, both agreed vpon in Kyng Edwardes

many of their number had actually subscribed the Edwardine Formulary in the Convocation of 1552, and had consequently departed from their own pledge by 'breaking the traditions and ceremonies of the Church.' The reply of the puritan to this charge is a full admission of the truth, that many of the clergy, who were thus disaffected, had set their hands to the 33rd of the XLII. Articles in common with the rest, but had done so with the limiting condition that nothing was to be ordered by the Church repugnant to the Word of God.

Steps most probably adopted in their composition and final ratification.

Such then being the natural deduction from all the surviving evidence, it is desirable to indicate the process which had been *most probably* adopted in the composition and ratification of the Articles. They were first drawn up by archbishop Cranmer very early in 1551, and circulated by him among the other prelates till the May of the following year. On the 2nd of that month he was asked by the council, 'whether they had been set forth by any *public authority*,' and this question naturally suggests the idea that some intention then existed of submitting the Articles to the notice of the Convocation, which had been recently dissolved (April 16¹). Whether that intention was executed or not we have no means of ascertaining; but in the interval which elapsed from the inquiry of the council till the autumn of the same year, the Formulary was made to undergo a still further examination. We lose sight of it on the 24th of November, when it was finally sent back to the royal council, but it seems to have continued in their hands

dayes, and also testified and *subscribed by themselves*, who nowe woulde gaynsay their owne doynge then.' He adds, 'The wordes which the *whole sinode* were well pleased withall and whereunto all the cleargies handes are set to be these,' (quoting the 33rd of the XLII.

Articles). The remark of the 'Aunswerer' is as follows: 'The Articles of the sinode haue such conditions annexed to them, that *wee nede not feare to subscribe to them againe*,' &c.

¹ Wake, State of the Church, 598.

till the opening of the Convocation in the March of 155 $\frac{2}{3}$. If actually *discussed* at this time either in one or both of the houses, the debate was very speedily conducted to an amicable issue; for on the 1st day of the following month, the synod was itself dissolved, and the royal order for the printing of the Articles appeared on the 20th of May¹. They were thus 'prepared by the authority of the king and council, agreed to in Convocation, and there subscribed by both houses; and so presently promulgated by the King's authority, according to law².'

But this, like many other of the salutary fruits which had ripened in the reign of Edward, was soon to be crushed and buried under the force of the violent reaction produced by his early death. The young monarch breathed his last, July 6, 1553, and the Convocation which assembled on the 6th of October was either 'so packed or so compliant,' that only six members of the lower house³ objected to reaffirm the corporal presence in the Eucharist, and to join in denouncing the obnoxious 'Catechism,' alluded to above. In the course of the ensuing year the great body of the people were 'reconciled' to the see of Rome, and Cardinal Pole⁴, as legatus à latere, convened the two houses of Convocation, and ministered the pontifical absolution, which they received on their bended knees. A fresh and impetuous vigour was thereby injected into the proceedings of the counter-reformation movement: and among the first things which were pressed on the notice of the intruding prelates, were

¹ This general view of their history and ultimate ratification in the synod, accords with the able Article in the *British Critic*, alluded to above.

² Wake, 600.

³ Wilkins, iv. 88.

⁴ In his Decree on the Reformation of England, dated Feb. 10, 1556, he lays it down as his future object, 'ut in hoc lega-

tionis munere perseveremus, ut ea, quæ jam in ejusdem unitatis negotio confecta erant, magis stabilirentur, utque ecclesia hæc Anglicana, quæ ob præteriti schismatis calamitatem in doctrina et moribus valde deformata esset ad veterum patrum et sacrorum canonum normam reformaretur.' Le Plat, Monument. iv. 571.

the 'pestilent books of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury¹.' In the enumeration of those public Formularies of Faith which had been so extensively indebted to his learning, there is no particular mention of the XLII. Articles; yet they are doubtless to be reckoned in the list of 'the other books as well in Latin as in English, concerning heretical, erroneous, or slanderous doctrine.' Though not formally abolished, it would seem, by the acts of any future Convocation, they were in truth altogether superseded by the revival and ascendancy of the Romanizing party. An example of this virtual suppression is supplied by a series of Articles², (fifteen in number,) which were sent on the 1st of April, 1555, to the University of Cambridge, accompanied by the injunction of the chancellor (Gardiner), that no one should be allowed to graduate until he had proved the integrity of his faith by subscribing the new test of doctrine; and in the last year of the reign of Mary the zeal of the houses of Convocation was conspicuously expressed in compiling a number of dogmatic definitions, which are described as 'the last of the kind that were ever presented in England by a legal corporation in defence of the popish religion³.'

¹ Wilkins, iv. 96: cf. the 'Proclamation for the restraining of all books and writings against the pope,' &c. Ibid. 128, 129.

² Ibid. 127, 128. In the Injunctions of Pole for the diocese of Gloucester the clergy are ordered, when there is no sermon, to read some portion of the 'Necessary Doctrine,' until such time 'as Homelies by th' authoritie of the synode shall be made and published for the

same intent and purpose.' Ibid. 146, 148. A small catechism in English and Latin was also in contemplation. Ibid. 156.

³ Fuller, Church History, Bk. ix. p. 55. The first three are affirmations on the nature of the Eucharist, the fourth on the papal supremacy, and the fifth on the propriety of committing ecclesiastical judgments to the pastors of the Church, instead of leaving them in the hands of laymen. Wilkins, iv. 179, 180.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ELIZABETHAN ARTICLES.

THE proclamation of Elizabeth, on the 17th of November, 1558, was one of the most memorable epochs in the annals of the English Church. During a long and eventful reign she presided over the completion of the work, which had been founded by her father and her brother, and promoted the restoration of the breaches it had suffered in the days of her sister Mary.

Accession of
Queen Eliza-
beth.

Yet the calm and calculating spirit, that appeared in her public measures on the subject of religion, was far from satisfying the hopes of the crowd of sanguine exiles, whom the news of her establishment on the throne brought back to the shores of Britain¹. The pulpits were all silenced by a royal order²; the service of the Church was still used in Latin³, excepting 'the Gospel and Epistle of the day' and 'the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue:' a majority⁴ also of the state-council, as constituted by the Queen herself, were in favour of the 'older learning,' and all things betokened her desire to conciliate the affections of the country, and to repress the indiscretion of the more ardent spirits both upon the right hand and the left. Bacon, the lord-keeper⁵, announced to the Parliament in the name of his royal mistress, 'that no party-language was to be kept up in this kingdom, that the names of heretic, schismatic, papist and such

The apparent
coldness of
her early
measures.

¹ Their dissatisfaction is well illustrated by the Letters of Bp Jewel, written at this period to some of his foreign friends.

² Dec. 27, 1558. Wilkins, iv. 180.

³ This practice continued till June 24, 1559, except in the

case of the Litany, which was said in English on the 1st of January preceding.

⁴ Turner, Hist. of England, III. 507 (note).

⁵ D'Ewes' Journals of Parliament, 12.

like, were to be laid aside and forgotten: that on the one side there must be a guard against unlawful worship and superstition, and on the other, things must not be left under such a loose regulation as to occasion indifferency in religion and contempt of holy things.'

Much, however, as this kind of policy was calculated to perplex the reforming party, it was no proof either of vacillation or of fear in the mind of the cautious monarch. She had firmly purposed at the outset of her reign, and while the festivities of the coronation were proceeding, to attempt the revival of the public worship, as it was celebrated in the time of Edward; and the enumeration of the perils she was going to encounter, when fully set before her by Sir Wm. Cecil¹, only deepened her previous resolutions and invigorated all her measures.

Parker, arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

One of the earliest examples of discernment in the choice of her advisers, and the brightest omen of her ultimate success, was the nomination of Matthew Parker to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

His character
and influ-
ence.

By nature as well as education, by the ripeness of his learning, the sobriety of his judgment, and the incorruptness of his private life, he was eminently fitted for the post of presiding over the Church of England in that stormy period of her being; and though unable to reduce the conflicting elements into rest and harmonious co-operation, the vessel which he had been called to pilot was saved, almost entirely by his foresight, from breaking upon the rock of mediæval superstitions, or from drifting away into the opposite whirlpool of lawlessness and unbelief². Like Cranmer, his illustrious predecessor, whom he

¹ See the statement in Burnet, v. 450—454.

² 'These times are troublesome. The Church is sore assaulted; but not so much of open enemies, as of pretended favourers and false brethren, who, *under cover of reformation*,

seek the ruin and subversion both of learning and religion.' Strype, Parker, 433; ed. 1711. In writing to Cecil he prays that God may preserve the Church from such a visitation as Knox had attempted in Scotland. State Papers, Domestic, Nov. 6, 1559.

valued so highly, that he 'wolde as moche rejoyce to wyne' some of his lost writings as he 'wolde to restore an old chancel to reparation¹,'—he was intimately acquainted with the works of the ancient Church, and uniformly rested his vindication of our own upon its cordial adherence to the primitive faith and the practice of the purest ages. 'His great skill in antiquity' (to quote the language of his biographer, Strype²) reached to ecclesiastical matters as well as historical; whereby he became acquainted with *the ancient Liturgies and doctrines of the Christian Church in former times*. He utterly disliked, therefore, the public Offices of the present Roman Church, because they varied so much from the ancient.' And in his last will Parker has himself declared³, 'I profess that I do certainly believe and hold whatsoever the holy Catholic Church believeth and receiveth in any Articles whatsoever, pertaining to faith, hope and charity, in the whole sacred Scripture.'

Under the guidance, therefore, of this calm and venerable primate we may proceed with the history of the Articles of Religion, tracing them out of the obscurity into which they were thrown by the death of Edward, and noting the modifications which they subsequently underwent during the Elizabethan period of the Church.

The Formulary of 1552, having passed the houses of Convocation, and remaining (so far as we can judge) unrevoked in the time of Mary, might have been at once propounded for the subscription of the clergy, as a test of the purity of their faith. But no attempt of this kind appears to have been made at the opening of the new reign, nor indeed for a long time after the general restoration of the Prayer-Book. The Articles for the most part continued in the background⁴,

The Edwardine Articles not immediately revived.

¹ Parker to Cecil, Aug. 22, 1563; in Strype's *Cranmer*, Appendix, No. XC.

² Strype, *Parker*, 530.

³ *Ibid.* 500, and Appendix,

No. C.

⁴ They are referred to, however, in the following passage of a document presented to the Queen A. D. 1559, by some of

till they were discussed by the houses of Convocation in 1562; and even after they had been thus authoritatively remodelled, *subscription* to them was required only in the year 1571, by a canon of the Convocation¹ assembled at that period, and by a contemporary enactment of the civil legislature.

The Eleven
Articles, 1559.

During the interval, however, which elapsed from the accession of Elizabeth to the latter date, the bishops had provided another independent test of doctrine, which for the sake of distinctness we may entitle the 'Eleven Articles of Religion.' It was compiled in 1559, under the eye of archbishop Parker², with the sanction of the other metropolitan and the rest of the English prelates; and the clergy were required to make a public profession³ of it, not only upon admission to

the refugees, in answer to the charge that 'their doctrine was nothing but heresy, and they a company of sectaries and schismatics:' 'Although in this our Declaration and Confession we do not precisely observe the words, sentence, and orders of *certain godly Articles by authority set forth in the time of King Edward* of most famous memory . . . yet in altering, augmenting or diminishing, adding or omitting, we do neither improve [*i. e.* call in question], nor yet recede from any of the said Articles, but fully consent unto the whole, as to a most true and sound doctrine, grounded upon God's Word, and do refer ourselves unto such Articles there as in our Confession, for shortness' sake, we have omitted.' Strype, *Annals of Reform.* i. 115; who gives one or two specimens of 'the Confession,' and adds (116) that 'on the back-side of this Paper are writ these words by *Grindal's* hand,

(as it seems) *Articuli Subscripti anno primo Reginæ nunc.*' The whole may be seen in a MS. belonging to C.C.C.C. (CXXI. § 20), and containing the signatures *George Hovy, John Ploughe, John Opynshaw.* The authors of it allude to the public Disputation at Westminster which began on the last day of March, 1559, and the document was, consequently, drawn up after that date.

¹ Wilkins, iv. 275, 'de Cancellariis,' etc.: cf. 'English Review,' III. 165 seqq., where it is shewn that occasional instances occurred in which men suspected of heterodoxy were called upon to subscribe as equivalent to recantation.

² Strype, *Annals*, i. 220, ed. 1725.

³ Hooper seems to have considered this kind of acquiescence far more stringent than subscription: 'Subscribing privately in the paper I perceive little availeth. For notwithstanding

their benefices, but twice also every year, immediately after the Gospel for the day. It was designed to further 'uniformity of doctrine,' and appointed to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates, as 'well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the ministers of the Church for diversity of judgment, as necessary for the instruction of their people¹.'

According to Collier's description these Articles were 'drawn upon a *very near resemblance* with those published in 1552²;' but while granting that there is some truth in his statement, with respect to their general spirit, an examination of the document itself must demonstrate how far it has varied from all the anterior models.

The *first* article is almost verbally drawn from the first of the XLII., laying down the necessity of a be-
Art. I.
 lief in the Holy Trinity in Unity. The *second* affirms
Art. II.
 the sufficiency of Scripture, for establishing the verity of the Gospel, and for the confutation of 'all errors and heresies;' while it recognises the three catholic Creeds as summaries of the principal articles of our faith. The *third* acknowledges 'that Church to be
Art. III.
 the Spouse of Christ, wherein the Word of God is

that, they speak as evil of good faith, as ever they did before they subscribed.' Strype's *Cranmer*, App. XLVII.

¹ Wilkins, IV. 195, seqq. This document is reprinted below, Appendix, No. IV. It was first published by Richard Jugge (the Queen's Printer) in 1561, and is said to exist in MS. among the treasures of C. C. C. C.

² II. 463. A much nearer affinity is found between the Edwardine Formulary and a Latin series of XXIV. Articles, described by Strype as 'The

Articles of the Principal Heads of religion prescribed to ministers:' *Annals*, I. 216, 217. They seem to have been drawn up by the Archbishop and his friends, along with the XI. Articles in the year 1559 (*Ibid.* 215), but he apparently failed in procuring the sanction of the Crown for their circulation among the clergy. They are important, however, as contemporary illustrations of the XXXIX. Articles, and will be hereafter employed for that purpose.

- truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and *the authority of the keys duly used* :’ adding, with the 33rd of the older Articles, that every national Church may change its ritual institutions. The *fourth* excludes all from any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, who have not been lawfully thereunto called by the high authorities. The *fifth* asserts the royal supremacy, as expressed in a recent act of parliament, and as explained by her Majesty’s ‘Injunctions.’ The *sixth* denies the papal monarchy, on the ground that it is contrary to Scripture and to the example of the primitive Church. The *seventh* acknowledges the English Prayer-Book to be ‘agreeable to the Scriptures,’ and ‘catholic, apostolic, and most for the advancing of God’s glory.’ The *eighth* declares that exorcism, oil, &c. do not pertain to the substance of the sacrament of baptism, and that they have been reasonably abolished. The *ninth* denies that ‘private masses’ were ever used amongst the fathers of the Primitive Church, and proceeds to declare that the doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice in ‘the mass’ for the quick and dead and ‘as a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory,’ is neither agreeable to Christ’s ordinance nor grounded upon ‘doctrine apostolic.’ The *tenth* maintains the right of the people to communion under both kinds; and from the language of our Saviour’s institution, and the practice of the ancient ‘doctors of the Church,’ condemns the withholding of the ‘mystical cup,’ as ‘plain sacrilege.’ The *eleventh* disallows the extolling of images, relics, feigned miracles, and other superstitions, on the ground that they ‘have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise threatenings and maledictions,’ and exhorts all men on the contrary to a diligent cultivation of good works.

It does not appear that this Formulary had been put in circulation by the authority of the royal council; and as the houses of Convocation did not assemble until the year 1562, it was destitute of all ecclesiastical sanction, excepting so far as the consent of the

bishops involved the acquiescence of the lower clergy. Issuing, however, as it did, from the press of the Queen's printer, and being enforced by episcopal injunctions upon the whole body of incumbents, it claims to be regarded as a public manifesto, and as an authentic record of the teaching of the Church through the interval which elapsed from the time of its appearance to the revival of the longer Articles in the ensuing Convocation. At a much later period (in 1566) it was prescribed *verbatim* to the Church of Ireland, 'by order and authority as well of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, General Deputy, as by the Archbishops and Bishops, and other her Majesty's High Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical in the same realm¹,' and was the only domestic Formulary, with the exception of the Irish Prayer-Book, which the sister Church appears to have recognised, until² the 'Articles of Religion' were agreed on by the Convocation of 1615.

The XI. Articles enjoined in Ireland, 1566.

With regard to our own country, the 'Eleven Articles' were intended as a merely provisional test, and consequently began to be superseded³, at least on this side of the channel, when the Articles of the synod of 1562 were absolutely enjoined upon the clergy by the canons of 1571.

When superseded in England.

To the compilation, therefore, of this document our thoughts are now specially directed.

¹ This document was printed at Dublin, by Humfrey Powel, Jan. 20, 1566, and may be seen at length in Dr Elrington's 'Life of Ussher:' App. xxiii—xxix.

² The English Articles of 1562 were subscribed in the mean time, at least in some few cases (Mant, i. 382, 2nd ed.); but compare Elrington's Ussher, ubi sup. 42, 43.

³ Among the 'Ordinances' of Archbishop Parker in 1564, is

one relating to this Formulary, which was regarded by him as an authority co-ordinate with the Articles of 1562; for after enjoining the clergy to read the Book of Articles, 'without notinge or expoundinge as theye be sett owte in the English Tounge twyse in the yere,' he adds, 'That theye reade also the *Declaration* for the unitye of Doctrine sett owte for the same purpose.' Strype, Parker, App. xxviii. 48.

Rapid return
of the coun-
try to the re-
formed doc-
trines.

Though 'many popishly-affected priests still kept their hold by their outward compliances¹,' the majority of the Church had cordially acquiesced in the changes resulting from the accession of Elizabeth, and the appointment of archbishop Parker. The labours of the royal commission, deputed in 1559 to visit the whole of the English dioceses, had largely contributed to this object, at one time by confirming the mind of the waverer, and at another by silencing the 'recusant,' who either questioned the supremacy of the Queen, or rejected the English Service-Book. Jewel, who was himself one of the most zealous members of the commission, wrote an account of his progress to Peter Martyr², November 2, 1559: 'Everywhere,' he says, 'we found the minds of the multitude sufficiently alive to religion, and that even where all things were supposed to be most difficult and disheartening. Still it is incredible what a harvest, or, rather what a wilderness of superstition had shot forth again during the darkness of the Marian period....The cathedrals were no better than dens of thieves....If we had to encounter obstinacy and malice in any quarters, it was entirely among the priests, and especially those who had once been of our own way of thinking. I suppose they are now disturbing all things, in order that they may not seem to have changed their minds without sufficient consideration. But let them create as much confusion as they like: we have in the mean time ejected them (*conturbavimus*) out of their sacerdotal office.'

Meeting of
Convocation,
1562-3.

As a natural result of these cogent measures, and of the growing bias of the Church at large in favour of the Reformation, her representatives in the earliest of the Elizabethan synods were agreed in their hostility to the errors which had been revived in the previous reign; however much they differed from

¹ Strype, Parker, 91, ed. 1711. The number who refused to admit the English Prayer-Book was one hundred and

eighty-nine. Annals, i. 171, 172.

² Works, viii. 128—130, ed. Jelf. The whole letter is curious.

each other in their view of the truth itself, and of the manner in which the Romanizing tenets should be thwarted and replaced. A royal brief for summoning the Convocations of Canterbury and York was issued Nov. 11, 1562, and the day appointed for their meeting was Jan. 12, 1563¹, or, in the language of ecclesiastical computation, 1562.

During this interval, and it may be for some time anterior, the archbishop of Canterbury had been sedulously engaged in revising the Edwardine Articles, with the intention of submitting them to the synod as the basis of the Formulary of Faith about to be considered. He was probably assisted in this work 'by his constant friends, bishops Grindal (of London), Horn (of Winchester), and Cox (of Ely).' They chose for the subject of revision the *Latin* Articles of 1552; and it is interesting to find that the result of their criticism is preserved among the manuscripts of archbishop Parker². We are in this way enabled to describe the changes introduced into the present Articles of Religion far more exactly than our authorities have permitted in tracing the compilation of the documents which have already passed under our notice.

Forty-two
Articles re-
vised:

and corrected
by arch-
bishop
Parker.

Nature of the
corrections.

¹ The Council of Trent was sitting at the same time: see above, p. 89, note (3). Its twenty-second 'action' commenced, Sept. 17, 1562, by publishing the doctrinal decree on the 'sacrifice of the mass;' and while the English Convocations were assembled, a warm contest was proceeding between the Italian bishops on one side, and the French and Spanish on the other, touching the extent of the papal power. Sarpi, II. 568—570. The same spirit of national independence, exhibited by the French prelates on this occasion, had been witnessed in the autumn of 1561, at the 'Colloquy of Poissy,' where an attempt was made to

conciliate the Huguenots by means of a national synod, and without the aid of the Roman pontiff. Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. CLVII. s. 1-27; Bossuet, *Variations*, liv. ix. s. 90. In a contemporary letter of Parker to Cecil, we see the interest felt by the English with regard to the fruits of this 'Colloquy,' (*State Papers, Domestic*, Aug. 11, 1561).

² Dr Lamb, in 1829, published, among other documents, an exact copy of the Latin Articles of 1562, as presented by Parker to the Convocation. It contains also the marks of numerous corrections which the Formulary had itself experienced, while under the notice of that body.

Many of
them drawn
from the Wir-
temberg Con-
fession, 1551.

It is very observable in the outset how the prelates who took part in this work of remodelling the Articles of 1552 have betrayed the same *Lutheran* leanings which appear in the earlier reformation, and especially in the language which had been adopted from the Saxon Formularies into the corresponding works of the Church of England. A large portion of the changes in dogmatic points which are found on comparing the Elizabethan Articles with those in the reign of Edward, may be traced to a Lutheran document which had been framed in accordance with the Confession of Augsburg in 1551¹. It is entitled the 'Confession of Wirtemberg,' and was presented by the ambassadors of that state to the Roman Synod of Trent². From it is derived the clause in our second Article, touching the eternal generation and consubstantiality of the Son; the agreement being absolutely verbatim³. The same is true of the third Article, 'Of the Holy Spirit,' which has no equivalent in the Edwardine series, but exists entire among the Wirtemberg Articles⁴. An appendix to the sixth of our present list, affirming that those books are to be reputed as component parts of the Sacred Canon, of whose authority there has never been any doubt in the Church, is manifestly copied from the same

¹ See it at length in Le Plat, Monum. iv. 420 seqq. The resemblance of our own to this Formulary was first pointed out in Laurence's Bampton Lect., 40, and notes. It professes to be in exact accordance with the Augsburg Articles; and although designed for the single state of Wirtemberg, will be found to be a compendium of the 'Repetitio Confessionis Augustanæ,' drawn up at the same period by the Saxon Churches, for presentation at the Council of Trent (Francke, Libri Symbol. 69—116).

² Sarpi, ii. 104, ed. Courayer.

³ 'Credimus et confitemur Filium Dei, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, *ab æterno a Patre suo genitum, verum et æternum Deum, Patri suo consubstantialem.*' De Filio Dei. For the corresponding English Articles, see App. No. iii.

⁴ 'Credimus et confitemur Spiritum Sanctum ab æterno procedere a Deo Patre et Filio, et esse ejusdem cum Patre et Filio essentiae, majestatis, et gloriæ, verum ac æternum Deum.' De Spiritu Sancto.

quarter¹. The tenth Article² on 'Free Will,' the new portion of the eleventh³ on 'Justification,' and the twelfth⁴ on 'Good Works,' though not actually agreeing to the letter with the language of the same Formulary, are no less obviously adapted from it; while the disputed clause of our twentieth Article⁵ (about which more will be said hereafter) is allied to the statement of the Wirtemberg theologians respecting the judicial functions of the Church.

But besides the important elucidations derived from this foreign source, the copy of the Formulary as submitted by archbishop Parker to the acceptance of the Synod, in 1562, exhibited a variety of other changes.

He introduced the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth of our present set, the former being directed against a prevailing error on the manducation of our Lord's body by the wicked⁶, the latter affirming the scripturalness of communion in both kinds. The fifth and

Four new
Articles.

¹ 'Sacram Scripturam vocamus eos Canonicos libros veteris et novi Testamenti, de quorum autoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.' De Sacra Scriptura.

² 'Quod autem nonnulli affirmant homini post lapsum tantam animi integritatem relictam, ut possit sese naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus, ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac præparare, haud obscure pugnat cum Apostolica doctrina, et cum vero Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consensu.' De Peccato.

³ 'Homo enim fit Deo acceptus, et reputatur coram eo justus, propter solum Filium Dei, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, per fidem.' De Justificatione, and still more closely in the statement, 'De Evangelio Christi.'

⁴ 'Non est autem sentiendum, quod iis bonis operibus, quæ per nos facimus, in judicio Dei ubi agitur de expiatione peccatorum, et placatione divinæ iræ, ac merito æternæ salutis, confidendum est. Omnia enim bona opera, quæ nos facimus, sunt imperfecta, nec possunt severitatem divini judicii ferre.' De Bonis Operibus.

⁵ 'Credimus et confitemur quod . . . hæc Ecclesia habeat jus judicandi de omnibus doctrinis, etc. . . . Quod hæc ecclesia habeat jus interpretandæ Scripturæ.' De Ecclesia. Bishop Short seems to question the resemblance in this last case: Hist. of the Church, 325 (note ^a), 2nd ed.

⁶ This article, as we shall see hereafter, disappeared in the printed copies.

the twelfth on 'the Holy Spirit' and on 'Good Works' respectively, which have been traced to the Wirtemberg Confession, were also entirely new in the list of Elizabethan Articles. They were clearly designed to complete the dogmatic statements of the Church in opposition to the Arians and the Solifidians, at that time rampant on all sides.

Other additions.

In addition to the amplifications above mentioned in the second, fifth, and eleventh of the XLII. Articles, with the view of guarding the truth more closely from its contemporary assailants,—the fifth was also *enlarged* by an enumeration of the canonical books, the sixth by appending a statement as to the present obligation of the moral law; which was however taken from the nineteenth of the same series. A fuller statement on the freedom of the will and its forfeiture at the fall of Adam, was introduced into the old article relating to that question. The twenty-sixth was now made to deny distinctly that Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are 'Sacraments of the Gospel;' the thirty-third underwent a similar enlargement, by declaring the authority of a national Church to ordain and abolish ceremonies; the thirty-fourth, by a specification of the Homilies (excepting that against Rebellion, which was published afterwards); the thirty-sixth, by an exposition of the sense in which the royal supremacy is accepted in matters ecclesiastical. In almost every one of these amplifications¹ we may discern the natural product of the times, and also a further corroboration of the views propounded in our last chapter,—that the Articles were primarily intended as negations of existing errors, 'wherewith this Church (alas!) was almost overgone².'

Substitutions.

The same will be equally observable with respect

¹ Other additions only verbal deserve to be carefully noted: *e. g.* in the Article 'de Prædestinatione' the Edwardine reading is 'decrevit eos quos elegit;'

the Elizabethan, 'decrevit eos quos *in Christo* elegit.'

² Bp Ridley, in Strype's *Annals*, I. 260.

to the *substitutions*, which occur in the copy of the Articles revised by archbishop Parker, and afterwards sanctioned in the Synod. Certain dogmas which are in the twenty-third Article denounced as fictions of the 'schoolmen,' are significantly described in 1562 as '*doctrina Romanensium*;' the use of any other than the vernacular tongue in the celebration of Divine worship is far more strongly interdicted; the baptism of infants is declared to be not only tenable, as the earlier Articles implied, but 'most agreeable to the institution of Christ;' transubstantiation is now said to 'overthrow the nature of a sacrament¹;' yet while the Romish error was rejected, a paragraph was added to vindicate the truth from the opposite perversions, for it declares that 'the Body of Christ is after a heavenly manner given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper.' The lawfulness of clerical marriage is *positively* asserted, in the place of the former affirmation that no commandment could be urged *against* it: the Ordinal is mentioned by itself, and defended from the cavils² of the Recusant party, to the effect that since the accession of Elizabeth all who had been consecrated or ordained, according to this form, had no *legal* claim to be regarded as the clergy of the Church of England.

The other modifications of the Articles as they stand in the copy of the Primate, may be classed under the head of *omissions*. These also were both numerous and important.

Other modifications.

¹ This very point had been strongly urged by Beza at the recent 'Colloquy of Poissy' (above p. 123, note 1), and had excited the deepest indignation. Fleury, liv. CLVII. s. 6.

² In repealing the Prayer-Book, Queen Mary had also mentioned the Ordinal by name; but on the accession of Elizabeth, when the Prayer Book was restored, the Ordinal was

not so specified, being regarded as a part of the former. On the ground of this omission, it was urged by Bonner and others of his party, that ordinations which had been made since the year 1559, according to the Edwardine form, were in the eye of the law defective. See Courayer, 'On English Ordinations,' 126 seqq. Oxf. 1844.

Four Articles
dropped.

Four Articles were dropped entirely : (1) the tenth, on 'Grace,'—part of its phraseology being transferred to Article X. of the new series ; (2) the sixteenth, on 'Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost,'—from a reluctance, it may be, to define the exact nature of this sin, or from the disappearance of the sect against which it had been levelled ; (3) the nineteenth, on the obligation of the moral Law,—part of it being incorporated in the seventh of the new Articles ; (4) the forty-first against the 'Millenarii,'—probably on account of the suppression of the teachers who had formerly used the millenarian hypothesis¹ as the plea for lawlessness and crime.

Minor omissions.

Among the minor omissions may be noticed a passage in the Article respecting the Holy Scriptures, which was dropped, it would seem, on the ground that toleration ought in no wise to be conceded to any ecclesiastical usage which may appear to oppose the injunctions of the Bible. A passage in the Article on Predestination, which affirmed that 'the Divine decrees are unknown to us,' was in like manner abandoned. The Article 'Of the sacraments,' in addition to certain other changes, no longer included a remark on the phrase 'ex opere operato,' which had been formerly censured upon the ground that it was unknown to Holy Scripture and engendered a superstitious sense. The omission of it was perhaps due to the explanations both of the Council of Trent², and of private writers³, as to the precise mode in which they were *now* not unwilling to employ it.

¹ Some, however, denounced the hypothesis *in toto*. See a contemporary account of the 'Milenaries,' in Alley's 'Poore Mans Librarie,' i. 222 seqq.

² See Sarpi, i. 423, 424, and Courayer's excellent annotations.

³ The following specimen occurs in Joliffe against Hooper, while commenting on this Arti-

cle: 'Quod enim dicimus gratiam et remissionem peccatorum in nobis fieri *ex opere operato*, nihil est aliud quam eam fieri in nobis, *non propter opus, aut meritum hominis operantis, sed propter opus Christi per visibile aliquod sacramentum largientis gratiam*: veluti cum infans baptizatus justificatur, non per ullum opus suum, aut susipientis, aut

The effect, therefore, of this criticism of Parker and his colleagues was *first*, to add four Articles, *secondly*, to remove an equal number, and *thirdly*, to modify by enlargement or subtraction, as many as seventeen of the remainder. No higher proof can be found of the caution with which all these changes were conducted than the very general adoption of them by the Synod to whom they were next submitted.

It assembled on the day appointed in the royal brief (Jan. 12, 1562²), and on the following day, after a solemn service at St Paul's cathedral, lost no time in proceeding to the business for which it had been convoked. The primate of all England presided, with the following bishops at his side: Edmund (Grindal) of London, Robert (Horne) of Winchester, William (Barlowe) of Chichester, John (Scory) of Hereford, Richard (Cox) of Ely, Edwin (Sandys) of Worcester, Roland (Merick) of Bangor, Nicholas (Bolingham) of Lincoln, John (Jewel) of Salisbury, Richard (Davis) of St David's, Edmund (Guest) of Rochester, Gilbert (Berkeley) of Bath and Wells, Thomas (Bentham) of Coventry and Lichfield, William (Alley) of Exeter, John (Parkhurst) of Norwich, Edmund (Scambler) of Peterborough, Thomas (Davies) of St Asaph, Richard (Guest) of Gloucester and commendatory of Bristol¹. The opening speech of Parker congratulated the Synod on the arrival of this opportunity for promoting the reformation of the Church, and signified the zeal of

Meeting of
Convocation.

Bishops pre-
sent.

ministri, sed *per ipsum opus operatum*, hoc est, per ipsum baptismi sacramentum, gratiam et remissionem peccatorum assequitur, *propter Christum in illo sacramento operantem*. fol.173,b.

¹ Strype, Parker, 121. It may be observed, that the Original Registers of this Convocation are not extant, having been destroyed in the fire of London, 1666. An important

extract, entitled 'Acta in superiore Domo Convocationis anno 1562,' is however most fortunately preserved, (Strype, Annals, i. 315. Bennett, Essay, 165 seqq.). This paper not only assists us in tracing the Articles through the upper House of Convocation, but also illustrates the proceedings of the lower during the same period.

Deliberations
of the bi-
shops.

his royal mistress, as well as of the nobles, in forwarding the happy execution of his wishes. He then gave the usual order to the lower house touching the election of their Prolocutor, and on the 16th of January¹ they presented Alexander Nowel, the dean of St Paul's, to serve them in that capacity. On the 19th the Synod reassembled at Westminster, instead of the more usual place of meeting in the chapter-house of St Paul's cathedral. The prolocutor in the name of the clergy, who were generally warm in the cause of reformation, carried up a report to the bishops, in which he stated that 'the Articles published in the Synod of London, during the reign of Edward, had been handed to a committee of the lower house, in order that they might weigh and reconstruct them (if such changes were thought proper), in time for the following session².' In the mean while the bishops had begun to deliberate on the same absorbing topics; and as the primate would naturally take the lead, it is probable that he submitted a copy of the Articles, as they had been revised by his own hand, for the approval of his brother prelates. On the 20th, the 22nd, the 25th and the 27th of January³, we may detect other traces, though generally faint and scanty, of the disputations which the projected Formulary was exciting in the upper house: and on the 29th, at an early session in St Paul's⁴, a further discussion 'respecting some of the Articles,' resulted in their unanimous subscription by all the assembled prelates.

The authentic record of their agreement (?)

One at least of the copies which had been sanctioned by the upper house of Convocation, is the Latin Manuscript of archbishop Parker adverted to above. The signatures which it contains are manifestly *autographs*; and as prelates of the province of York are included in the number of subscribers⁵, we

¹ Strype, Parker, *ibid*.

² Bennett, 167.

³ Strype, Parker, *ibid*.

⁴ Inter horas 8^{am} et 9^{am} ante meridiem. Bennett, *ibid*.

⁵ They are Thomas (Young) of York, James (Pilkington) of Durham, William (Downham) of Chester.

might infer that this was the actual copy transmitted for the approval of the clergy at that time assembled in the northern Convocation. But a formidable doubt has been thrown on the authority of the Parker MS. by collating a portion of its contents with an extract from the register of this Convocation, as made in the time of archbishop Laud, and attested by a public notary for the satisfaction of his accusers¹. Besides exhibiting a different version of the article 'On the Authority of the Church,' the extract from the original record belonging to the see of Canterbury, has preserved a list of the assentient prelates, varying in some points from that in the Manuscript of archbishop Parker²: and to increase the perplexity of the question

¹ He was accused of forging the contested clause in Art. XX, and after appealing to four printed copies of the Articles, one of them as early as 1563, and all containing the passage which the Puritans disliked, he added, 'I shall make it yet plainer: for it is not fit concerning an Article of Religion, and an Article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this Church, you should rely upon my copies, be they never so many or never so ancient. Therefore I sent to the public records in my office, and here under my officer's hand, who is a public notary, is returned to me the twentieth Article with this affirmative clause in it, and there is also the whole body of the Articles to be seen.' Remains, II. 83 (quoted by Bennett, 166). The copy, thus taken before the destruction of the records, is said to be still extant; Bennett made use of it, and has printed it in his 'Essay,' 167—169.

² The Parker MS. has the subscriptions of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Chichester, Ely, Worcester, Hereford, Bangor, Lincoln, Salisbury, St David's, Bath and Wells, Coventry and Lichfield, Exeter, Norwich, Peterborough, and St Asaph, besides the three above mentioned belonging to the other province. The copy of the record produced by archbishop Laud omits the three northern prelates, and also those of Chichester, Worcester, and Peterborough. The second includes the bishop of Rochester, but it has been doubted whether he actually subscribed or not (Bennett, 184); while the bishop of Gloucester, though present at some meetings of the synod, appears to have finally dissented. (Strype, Annals I, 563). The bishopric of Oxford was not full, and Kitchen of Llandaff (from whatever cause) took no part in the proceedings.

the *two* sets of episcopal signatures are said to have been appended to the Articles on the same day and in the same place.

If one may lawfully hazard a conjecture in the midst of these clashing statements, is it not possible that after the house of bishops had subscribed the copy of the primate on the 29th of January, it was forwarded to the northern Convocation, (without waiting for the criticism of the lower house, who continued their discussions for another week); and that on its return it was deposited as a private paper with the rest of the Parker Manuscripts, where it has remained till the present day; while the copy of the Articles as they stood when finally authorised by the whole Synod on the fifth of the following month, found its place among the records of Convocation in the registry appertaining to the see of Canterbury, at the cathedral of St Paul's?

Value of the
Parker MS.,

But if reasons¹ do thus exist for disputing the authority of the Parker Manuscript, or even for rejecting the claims which have been put forth on its behalf to be regarded as the ultimate form in which the Articles were left at the rising of the Synod, it is, notwithstanding, a most valuable guide in tracing the course of their further progress, and the nature of the changes impressed upon them during the deliberations of the house of bishops².

as shewing
the modifica-
tions intro-
duced by the
bishops.

When first exhibited by the primate, about the 19th of January, they were forty-two in number, but on the 29th, which is the date of the subscriptions,

¹ See more on this subject in Bennett, c. viii., and Strype, Parker, 319, 320, where it is argued that this MS. as well as a second of 1571, are no more than 'first schemes or draughts preparatory.' The fact of their being left in the *private* library of Parker, the variety of corrections in the documents them-

selves, and the absence of all mention of royal approbation, form the principal arguments of those learned antiquaries.

² These alterations are distinguished in the MS. by the marks of a red minium pencil, and by the Archbishop's own hand-writing. Dr Lamb, Hist. Account, 17.

three whole articles had been erased. These were the thirty-ninth, the fortieth and the forty-second of the Edwardine series, all bearing on speculative points which had been opened by the Anabaptist; and as the errors of his sect were no longer menacing the very being of the Church, there was not the same urgent reasons for proscribing them in detail. Another omission was made in the article respecting our Lord's 'Descent into Hell,' which had rested in the Formulary of 1552 upon the well-known language of St Peter. The allusion made to a particular text was now altogether abandoned,—we may conjecture, on account of the animosity excited by the disputes which this question had engendered in some districts, more especially in the diocese of Exeter¹. A third

Three more
Articles
erased.

Clause
dropped in
Art. III.

¹ Among the papers of Alley, bishop of that see, which had been drawn up for the synod of 1562, there is one relating to this very subject. After expressing his desire that the clergy might all preach one kind of doctrine, and not inveigh against each other, he proceeds: 'First, for matters of Scripture, namely, for this place which is written in the epistle of St Peter, that *Christ went down into hell, and preached to the souls that were in prison*. There have been in my diocese *great invectives between the preachers*, one against the other, and also partakers with them; some holding, that the going down of Christ His soul to hell, was nothing else but the virtue and strength of Christ His death, to be made manifest and known to them that were dead before. Others say, that *descendit in inferna* is nothing else but that Christ did sustain upon the cross the

infernal pains of hell... Finally, others preach, that this article is not contained in other symbols, neither in the symbol of Cyprian, or rather Rufine. And all these sayings they ground upon Erasmus, and the Germans, and especially upon the authority of Mr Calvin and Mr Bullinger. The contrary side bring for them the universal consent and all the Fathers of both Churches, both of the Greeks and the Latins... Thus, my right honourable good lords, your wisdoms may perceive, what tragedies and dissensions may arise for consenting to or dissenting from, this article.' See Strype, *Annals*, i. 348, ed. 1725; and for some notice of a warm controversy at Cambridge on the same question in 1567, *Life of Parker*, 258. In the curious volume of theological Miscellanies by bishop Alley, entitled 'The Poore Mans Librarie,' (Lond. 1565), he 'declares at large the

another in
the Art. re-
specting the
Lord's Sup-
per.

Cause of its
removal.

important erasure was in the article respecting the 'Lord's Supper,' which had been almost entirely recast by the Archbishop, before the meeting of the Synod. One of the altered sentences, together with a long paragraph into which it was engrafted, disappear in the printed Articles; and even were there no evidence surviving to illustrate the reasons of the change, we should naturally assign it to some disagreement of the prelates on the doctrine thus abstracted. But the history of the Elizabethan period can supply us with abundant elucidations of the controversy rising out of the present article. The clause which was finally rejected by the Synod, was susceptible of a Zwinglian interpretation,—appearing to deny the presence of our Lord *in any way whatever*; and this would doubtless be one reason for the change in the eyes of many of the prelates¹. It opened also a further question, which was then occupying and inflaming the discussions of sundry continental theologians²,—whether the humanity of our Lord can be so dissociated from His Divine nature, as to be in no sense present in many places at one and the same time. Whatever may have been the number of voices on either side of

opinions and iudgements as well of the olde Fathers as of later writers, concerning this article of the faith,' (Tom. II. fol. 72—77). He concludes by saying, 'One thinge I would wishe, that neither this article, nor any other conteyned in the symbole, commonly called *Symbolum Apostolorum*, shoulde be lightlye shaken of, but to be beleued as they stande there.'

¹ Dorman, who wrote his 'Proof' in 1564, alludes to this controversy in the 'new Church,' as he calls it, affirming that while some, like Guest (of Rochester), preached for the 'real presence,' and others, like Grin-

dal, denied it, Parker clung to the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation (Strype, Annals, I. 334). It is probable that all these statements are somewhat exaggerated; but Nowel in his 'Confutation of Dorman,' does not deny that disunion existed on the subject, fol. 362. The article of the French Confession which the Calvinists exhibited at the Colloquy of Poissy (1561), has some points of parallelism with the English statement, as it was first introduced into the synod. Confess. Fid. Gallican. Art. xxxvi. ed. Niemeyer, 1840.

² See Le Bas, Life of Jewel, 129, 130.

these stirring questions, the result was the same as in the disputations on the descent of our Lord into Hades ; for the paragraph which had been the moving cause of the controversy, was at last altogether withdrawn. Its erasure afforded a fresh example of the latitude and forbearance which had been more or less exercised by the Church in all her synodical decisions ; and if some have condemned this hesitating silence as a guilty abandonment of the truth, it will be justified, in respect of a large class of questions, by an appeal to the history of the Councils, and nowhere so fully as in the records of the contemporary council of Trent.

The remaining alterations of the upper house were limited to single phrases, yet nearly all of them are worthy of some passing notice. The eighth article of the elder series had read in one version of *φρόνημα σαρκὸς* the word ‘studium’ only, and the omission had not been observed by archbishop Parker ; but ‘carnis’ was now subjoined in the Synod for the sake of completing the sense¹. In the title of the fifteenth article Parker had retained ‘in Spiritum Sanctum,’ but his phrase was subsequently underscored in the Manuscript, and the words ‘after baptism’ introduced. In the twenty-second of the Edwardine Articles ‘verbo Dei’ was substituted for ‘verbis Dei :’ in the margin of the twenty-ninth a passage of St Augustine, which had been there cited, was verified by a reference to the treatise² out of which it was taken : and in the thirty-third on ‘Traditions Ecclesiastical,’ ‘temporum’ was added after ‘regionum,’ to make the statement of the principle still more comprehensive.

Remaining alterations.

The effect of these further modifications reduced the number of the Articles to thirty-nine ; and in the form which it assumed at this period³, the document

Articles reduced to XXXIX.

¹ In the English Articles of 1552, the passage stood correctly, ‘The desire of the flesh.’

² The reference was ‘super Joann. Tract. 26,’ which afterwards gave rise to some ‘nib-

bling.’ See Strype’s Parker, 331, 332.

³ It may be remarked on taking leave of the Parker MS. that the following statement is appended to this copy of the

Transferred
to the lower
house of
convocation,

seems to have reached the lower house of Convocation. We have already seen that they manifested a peculiar zeal for the revival of the Articles of 1552¹, and had proceeded to organize a committee, under the sanction of the bishops, for considering if any changes were needed before these Articles were republished. The 20th of January was appointed for the bringing up of their report into the other house, and if this order was punctually obeyed, the criticism would be under the notice of the bishops during the whole of their own deliberations. It is now impossible to ascertain the amount of the changes which are due to the influence of this committee; but a comparison of the first edition of the Articles in 1563 with the Manuscript containing the episcopal signatures, must convince us, that with the exception of the disputed clause in the twentieth article, and the total disappearance of the twenty-ninth, entitled 'Impii non

Articles: 'Hos Articulos fidei Christianæ, continentes in universum novemdecim paginas in autographo, *quod asservatur apud Reverendissimum in Christo patrem dominum Matthæum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum*, totius Angliæ primatem et metropolitanum (*then follows an enumeration of the Articles in each page*), nos archiepiscopi et episcopi *utriusque provincie* in sacra Synodo provinciali legitime congregati, recipimus et profite-mur, et ut veros atque orthodoxos, manuum nostrarum subscriptionibus approbamus, vicesimo nono die mensis Januarii anno Domini secundum computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, et illustrissimæ Principis Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei Defensores etc. dominæ nos-

træ clementissimæ, anno quinto.' The subscriptions are then added, as enumerated above, p. 131.

¹ A list of 'Matters to be moved by the clergy in the next parliament and synod,' which Strype has printed in his 'Annals,' i. 317, seqq. appears to have proceeded from some of the more zealous reformers. It includes the following note, among others: 'Certain Articles containing the principal grounds of Christian religion are to be set forth, in which also is to be determined the truth of those things which in this age are called in question. Much like to such Articles as were set forth a little before the death of King Edward. Of which Articles the most part may be used with additions and corrections, as shall be thought convenient.'

manducant,' &c. the lower house of Convocation had implicitly accepted the copy which received the approval of the bishops. At the session of the 5th of February, ^{passed before Feb. 5,} the prolocutor¹ and six of his clerical brethren were summoned into the presence of Grindal (acting in the stead of the Archbishop), and questioned respecting the 'Book of Doctrine' which had been lately forwarded from the bishops to be subscribed by the lower clergy. The prolocutor in reply exhibited a copy of the Articles, remarking that they had already passed the inferior house, and were signed by some of the members, but added the request, that an order might be issued from the prelates, enjoining subscription upon all. On this account it was decreed unanimously that the names of all persons who continued in the list of the non-subscribers at the next session of the Synod should be noted by the prolocutor, and proscribed as delinquents. Many fresh names accordingly seem to have been added before the day when the Convocation reassembled (Feb. 10); and as no further mandate was issued after the 12th of this month, for the sake of ascertaining the backward subscribers, it is probable that all had now signified their assent either in person or by proxy².

and gradually
subscribed.

When the labours of the Synod³ were thus brought ^{Approved by the Queen,}

¹ The only information obtainable respecting these proceedings, is derived from the extracts, published by Bp Gibson in his 'Synodus Anglicana,' 206 seqq. (above, p. 129, note); and as they belong to the journals of the upper house, the light thrown by them on the lower is casual and indirect.

² A list of subscribers has been published in Strype, Annals, i. 327—329; but there seems no sufficient ground for supposing that it is a full and authentic copy, (cf. Dr Lamb's Hist. Acc. 20 seqq., Bennett, c. vi. *passim*).

The number of representatives in the lower house was one hundred and forty-four, twenty-two deans, fifty-three archdeacons, twenty-four prebendaries (or proctors of chapters), forty-four proctors of the diocesan clergy, and one precentor (St David's). All the signatures in Strype amount to ninety-one 'propriis manibus,' and fifteen others, 'per procuracionem.'

³ Though the northern Convocation had no direct influence in the compiling of the Articles, its concurrence appears to have been implied in the signatures

and printed
in Latin, by
Wolfe.

to a happy termination, at least so far as the Articles were concerned, we might have expected to follow them at once to a meeting of privy council, to witness their final approbation by the Queen. But a considerable time had elapsed¹, it may be a whole year, when an edition of them was published by the royal printer, declaring that they had received her Majesty's approval, after she had read and examined them in person². Sir Edward Coke has stated that they were ratified at this period in the most formal manner, viz. by passing under the great seal of England³; but no cause has ever been assigned for the delay which intervened before the publication of the work itself. There can be no doubt, however, in the absence of the Manuscript thus finally approved by the crown, that the most authentic representation of the Articles is to be sought in the Latin text, as it was printed under the auspices of the Queen. It alone was legally binding on the clergy, being invested with the concurrent sanction both of the ecclesiastical and the civil powers⁴.

Contents of
this copy.

Now it is remarkable that this copy has altogether omitted one of the new Articles⁵ (the twenty-ninth in the Manuscript of archbishop Parker), and still

of the archbishop of York and his suffragans. The document was set forth by the authority of both Convocations, that is, by a national synod. See Lathbury, Hist. of Convoc. 165, 166.

¹ See Bennett, c. xvii. Others make the interval nearly a year: e. g. Cardwell's Synod. 38.

² The language is very remarkable: 'Quibus omnibus Articulis serenissima princeps Elizabetha Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei Defensor, etc. *per seipsam diligenter lectis et examinatis* regium suum assensum præbuit.'

³ Instit. Part iv. c. 74, quoted by Bennett, 220.

⁴ See Dr Cardwell's remark, Synod. i. 38, 39.

⁵ Bennett argues that it *had* passed the Convocation, but was subsequently withdrawn, (see below, p. 139, note 2), through tenderness towards the Romanising party, who had not yet seceded from the Church. In the following Convocation, (1571), this secession was taking place, and therefore the same need of forbearance no longer existed; 233, 234.

more, that it contains the affirmative clause respecting the authority of the Church. Whether these changes were made at the instance of the lower house, *after* the Parker Manuscript had been signed by the bishops¹, or whether they proceeded from the royal council at the command of the Queen herself², they indisputably exist in the original edition which was circulated as authentic in the Church of England. One of the discrepancies indeed was very speedily adjusted, for the twenty-ninth article appears in all the copies of 1571, whether English or Latin; it has therefore been comparatively unnoticed by those who have handled the present subject; but the conflicting versions of the twentieth article, and the stress that was subsequently laid upon the points which are there either asserted or omitted, have produced the very warmest disputations in the succeeding history of the Church³.

The nature and amount of the evidence both for

¹ With respect to the clause in Art. xx, it is evident from the existence of a similar passage in the Wirtemberg Confession of 1551, from equivalent affirmations in Art. xxxiv, and the undisputed sequel of Art. xx, as well as from the language of the puritanical party in the earlier Elizabethan period, that no ground was then existing for its deliberate omission from the new Formulary of Faith. See the language of Fox, in Strype's Annals, i. 326. It was not till the time of Charles I. that the controversy respecting it was distinctly raised, or its obnoxious character discerned.

² Cardwell's Synod. i. 39. This view is urged by Dr Lamb, 34, 35, and receives some degree of probability from what happened during an interview between Parker and Cecil in 1571,

(Strype's Parker, 331, 332), where the Treasurer had called in question the lawfulness of the quotation made in the 29th Article from the writings of St Augustine. His own scruples or his gentleness in dealing with the Romanising party might have thus occasioned the withdrawal of the Article from the Convocation-Records; and the examples given by Mr Soames (Elizabeth. Hist. 222, 223, notes) demonstrate that such acts of interference were not uncommon at the time.

³ One of these may be read in the Life of Heylin, who took the question of Church-authority as the subject for an exercise in the schools. His opponent was the Professor himself, (Dr Prideaux). Life of Heylin, xcii, xciii, prefixed to his 'History of the Reform.' ed. E. H. S.

Evidence for
and against
the disputed
clause in Art.
xx.

and against the authority of the paragraph in question¹, may be concisely stated thus:

It is *not* found

(1) In the Latin Manuscript of archbishop Parker, which had been signed by himself and a large majority of the bishops, on the 29th of January, 1562².

(2) In the *English* version of the Articles, as they were printed by Jugge and Cawood, in 1563.

(3) In the *English* Manuscript, signed by the bishops in the Convocation of 1571.

(4) In one Latin and one English edition of Jugge and Cawood, in 1571.

On the other hand, it *is* found

(1) In the *Latin* edition of Reynold Wolfe, 1563, as authorised by the Queen.

(2) In two or more English editions of Jugge and Cawood, 1571.

(3) In six or more English editions from 1581 to 1628, and in all subsequent copies.

(4) In the transcript made in 1637 from the original copy of the Articles, as it was deposited in the registry of the see of Canterbury.

Its genuineness established.

The weight of the Manuscript testimony against the disputed clause depends altogether on the *assumption* that the documents in the Library of archbishop Parker were the ultimate form which the Articles had taken when they were finally submitted to the Crown; but (as Bennett and Strype² have argued in detail) an assumption of this kind is precluded by the slovenly condition of the manuscripts themselves, by their place in a *private* repository, and above all, by their want of the public tokens, invariably found in the acts

¹ It begins at the opening of the 20th Article, and runs in the following terms: 'Habet Ecclesia ritus [sive ceremonias] statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem; quamvis.' The two words in brackets do

not appear in the original Latin edition, nor in the transcript made in 1637, from the Convocation-Records.

² See references above, p. 132, note 1, and cf. *British Critic* for 1829; 96, 97.

and instruments which have received the royal approbation. With regard to the early *printed* copies where the paragraph is also wanting, they are more than counterbalanced by the authority of the rest in which it did actually exist. On one side is the Latin text of 1563, the very first publication of the Articles, issuing from the press of the Queen's printer, and containing her emphatic sanction; on the other, is an *English version* laying claim to no kind of authority, either civil or ecclesiastical, and if made, as there is reason to believe, from the Manuscript of archbishop Parker, it could possess no higher value than the Manuscript itself. But even if we might allow that the printed evidence is *equal*, the fact of this clause appearing in the record as examined and attested by a public notary in 1637, is conclusive that it was actually inserted as early as the year 1563.

It may have been the production of the Synod before the Articles were forwarded to the Queen, or it may have been afterwards interpolated while in the hands of the royal council; but the argument of Bennett has at least established its claim to be regarded as a portion of the authoritative copy which found its way into the archiepiscopal registry at St Paul's, and perished in the fire of 1666. That record was quoted by archbishop Laud, and by other writers of his age, in terms the most positive and explicit, at a time also when it was open to the view of his bitter rivals, nay, in the hands of his infuriated enemies, and yet 'not one of them ever ventured to question the truth of the assertions, or attempted to invalidate the proofs on which his defence had rested¹.'

¹ British Critic, as above referred to, 96. Attention is there drawn to the further statement of Archbishop Laud, that the contested clause was also found in the Articles subscribed by the *lower house* in 1571. The stoutest opponents of its genuineness

in later times were Collins, in his 'Priestcraft in Perfection,' 1710, and an anonymous writer (perhaps the same Anthony Collins) in a work entitled 'Historical and Critical Essay on the XXXIX. Articles' (in reply to Bennett), 1724.

After these remarks on the compilation and integrity of the Articles put forth in 1563, we may proceed to investigate the changes that befel them in the rest of the present reign.

On the assembling of Convocation in 1571 they were brought into the form which they have retained from that day till our own, and were then for the first time offered as a test to every candidate for Holy Orders.

Proceedings
in connexion
with the Arti-
cles, in 1566.

During the interval, however, they had been frequently produced in debates of the civil legislature, where an attempt was made by sundry of the commons to compel the subscription of the clergy. On the 5th of December, 1566, we read¹ that ‘the bill with a *Little Book* printed in the year 1562², (which was the fourth or fifth of her majesty’s reign) for the sound Christian religion, was read the first time.’ The book, it is universally allowed, was a copy of the Articles of Religion, and in all probability the second English edition, which had been printed in small octavo, by Jugge and Cawood³. It is again mentioned in the ‘Journals of Parliament,’ on the 10th of December, when the bill which attempted to give it a wider currency in the Church, was read the second time⁴. On the 13th of December, they appear again, the bill for the ‘Articles of Religion’ being then passed at the third reading⁵. On the next day it was forwarded to the House of Lords, but for reasons which no one is able to assign precisely, it was there ‘steved by commandement from the Queen.’ The primate and other bishops appear to have been very desirous of accelerating its progress in the upper house, as we may judge from a petition⁶ ‘exhibited to the Queen’s

The Bishops
in favour of
the plan for
legalising
subscription.

¹ D’Ewes, Journals of Parliament, 132, Lond. 1682.

² More correctly, 1563; for although the Articles were agreed on in 1562, the first known edition of them was not printed till the following year. Bennett, 255, 256.

³ It is reprinted in Dr Lamb’s

publication. Although the 29th Article is wanting, the number is made ‘nine and thirty,’ by dividing the 6th Article into two portions.

⁴ D’Ewes, ubi sup.

⁵ Ibid. 133.

⁶ In Bennett, 258—260. It is interlined in the handwriting

Majesty the 24th of Decembre, anno 1566.' While striving to enkindle the royal zeal in behalf of the measure which had been lately originated by the commons, they declare, that 'thapprobation of thies Articles by your Majestie shal be a verie good meane to establyshe and confirme all your Highnes subjects in one consent and unitie of true doctrine, to the great quiete and safetie of your Majestie and this your realm; whereas now for want of a playn certentie of Articles of Doctrine by law to be declared, great distraction and dissention of myndes is at this present among your subjects, and dailie is like more and more to encrease, and that with verie great daunger in policie, the circumstances considred, if the said Boke of Articles be now steyd in your Majesties hand or (as God forbid) rejected.' Notwithstanding this earnest petition, the Queen was immoveably resolved, that proceedings upon spiritual matters should not emanate from the House of Commons. Her feelings at this time accorded with the message she is said to have sent on a similar occasion, when projects relating to the Church were strenuously revived in 1571,—'she approved their good endeavours, but would not suffer these things to be ordered by parliament¹.'

The Queen
resists the
measure of
the Com-
mons;

But the principle which prompted this language appears to have speedily relaxed: for after the same measure had been introduced afresh into the House of Commons (April 6, 1571), and from thence transmitted to the Lords (May 3), the opposition of the Queen gave way, and the bill² 'for the ministers of the

but finally
yields, May
29, 1571.

of archbishop Parker, and is written in the name of 'the Archebyshope and Byshops of both the Provinces.'

¹ D'Ewes, 185.

² Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12. It enacts 'by the authority of the present parliament, that every person under the degree of a bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister

of God's holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth by parliament in the time of the late king of most worthy memory, King Edward the Sixth, or now used in the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady, before the feast of the Nativity of Christ next following, shall,

Church to be of sound religion' received her wavering assent¹, on the 29th of the following month. We may imagine that the fear which had been recently awakened by the excommunicatory bull², combined with the displeasure of the council on witnessing the daily secessions from the Church³ at the beck of the Roman pontiff, had some weight in diminishing the hostility of the Crown to this kind of parliamentary legislation: for it is clear that nothing but the strongest motive

in the presence of the bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, *declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entitled "Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty and two, according to the computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions and for the establishing of consent touching true religion: put forth by the Queen's authority."*

It is enacted further, that a testimonial of such assent and subscription shall be procured from the bishops, and read together with the Articles in Church. The 'said Articles' are also ordered to be subscribed in the presence of the ordinary, and publicly read in Church by every one at his admission to a benefice.—Disputes have arisen as to the particular edition of

the Articles referred to in this Act (see Dr Lamb's Hist. Acc. 26, British Critic, as above, 93, 94); and also as to the purport of the phrase, 'the said Articles' just quoted. On this latter point more will be found hereafter in the chapter on 'Subscription.'

¹ On the first of May, the Lords had returned answer to a deputation from the Commons, that 'the Queen's Majesty, having been made privy to the said Articles, liketh very well of them, and mindeth to publish them and have them executed by the bishops, by direction of her majesty's regal authority of supremacy of the Church of England, and not to have the same dealt in by parliament.' D'Ewes' Journals, ubi sup.

² See it in Camden's Annales, Eliz. 183; ed. 1625.

³ This was the origin of the Anglo-Romish schism. See Fullwood's 'Roma Ruit,' Appendix (A), 317, 318, new ed. 1847. The number of secessions was increased by enforcing subscription to the Articles; for until the work of Fran. à Sancta Clara in 1634, no one attempted to reconcile them with the Tridentine definitions.

could have urged a sovereign like Elizabeth to resign what she always regarded as her first and indisputable right. And when it is borne in mind that the series of measures, in which the bill for enforcing the Articles stood foremost¹, proceeded from the democratic party, who were now fast growing in the Commons, our wonder at the final acquiescence of the Queen is only the more augmented. One of the main promoters of this Act was 'an ancient gentleman of hot zeal,' named Strickland², who was not only bent upon further changes in the Offices of the Church³, but ventured even to recommend a fresh Formulary of Faith, after the model of the foreign Confessions⁴. Attempt to establish a new Confession. He was seconded by another Puritan of the name of Wentworth; and when they waited upon the archbishop of Canterbury with a draft of their new version of the Articles, it was immediately observed that they had struck out all mention of the Homilies, the Ordinal, and other matters relating to the hierarchy, authority, and ceremonial of the Church. The primate, naturally startled by this change, desired an immediate explanation; upon which Wentworth declared that certain subjects had been dropped because he had no time 'to examine them how they agreed with the Word of God;' and after Parker had suggested that he should 'refer himself wholly to the bishops' in the determination of such points, he answered, 'No! by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that

¹ In the original 'Journal-Book,' it is called Bill A, being one of a series of measures 'touching Religion and Church government.' D'Ewes, 185.

² Strype, Annals, II. 63, 64. 'The Queen liked not at all these proceedings, reckoning it struck at her prerogative.... So that during the time of Easter, in the holy-days, Strickland, for his exhibiting a bill for the reforma-

tion of ceremonies, and his speech thereupon, was sent for before the Lords of the Privy Council; and required to attend upon them.' Ibid. This opened the question of the royal prerogative.

³ The 'sour leaven' had already begun to work at Cambridge. See Dr Lamb's 'Collection of Letters,' &c., 356.

⁴ Strype, *ibid.* 66.

were but to make you popes; make you popes who list, for we will make you none¹.'

Limit of the
parliament-
ary require-
ment of sub-
scription.

The language of the puritanical party upon this and similar occasions would seem to favour a supposition derivable from the wording of the Act itself, that in the confirmation of the Articles by parliament in 1571, it was designed to enforce subscription *only* to such statements as embrace the fundamental verities of the faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments; and the origination of a plan for some new Confession among the warmest promoters of the measure may be deemed in some way corroboratory of the same hypothesis. But as this question will be hereafter resumed, when we come to consider the history of Subscription and the force which lawyers have generally assigned to the statute of 1571, we may in the mean time endeavour to ascertain the proceedings of the Convocation, which sat in connexion with the Parliament when the Articles were thus repeatedly canvassed.

Proceedings
of Convoca-
tion, May,
1571.

The opening sermon was preached by Dr Whitgift, who dwelt upon the authority of synods, upon vestments and ecclesiastical decorations, and also on the enemies of the Church, which he divided into Puritans and Papists². As no allusion was made by the preacher to a contemplated revision of the Articles, it is probable that the design arose entirely out of the agitation which was soon after excited in the House of Commons. On the 7th of April, however, being the day of the second session, an order issued from the primate³, enjoining that the members

¹ D'Ewes, 239: Strype, *Annals*, II. 67. Wentworth's 'freedom' afterwards brought him into the custody of the sergeant, in 1575.

² Bennett, 262.

³ *Ibid.* Dr Lamb thinks this order was directed against Cheynie, bishop of Gloucester,

who was excommunicated for non-attendance at the synod, and afterwards absolved in the person of his proxy; but the terms of the order confine it to the members of the *lower* House. Camden speaks of Cheynie as 'most addicted to Luther,' probably on account of his doctrine

of the lower House 'who had not formerly subscribed the Articles of Religion, agreed on in the year 1562, should subscribe them now, or upon their absolute refusal or delay (if such persons existed) that they should be wholly excluded from the house.' In obedience to this order the 'Book of Articles' was read aloud and personally subscribed by the members of both Houses; but no more is heard of it till the following month, when the Commons had brought their discussions to a close, and the bill for legalising the Articles of Religion was already handled by the peers. As a consequence, it would seem, of this measure, and for the sake of multiplying copies which might lay claim to the sanction of the Church and also correspond with the specification of the bill in requiring the use of the Articles in *English*, the bishops undertook a further revision, and minutes to the following effect were inserted in the register of Convocation¹, at its fifth session (May 4):

'That when the Book of Articles touching doctrine shall be fully agreed upon, that then the same shall be put in print by the appointment of my Lord of Sarum [Jewel], and a price rated for the same to be sold.'

'Item, That the same being printed, every bishop to have a competent number thereof, to be published in their synods throughout their several dioceses, and to be read in every parish-church four times² a year.'

The ensuing session (May 11), which was at Lambeth, and strictly private, is said to have been occupied

of the eucharist and his retention of pictures in churches. He refused to subscribe the Articles in 1562. Strype, *Annals*, I. 563.

¹ Bennett, 262, 263.

² Archbp. Parker had before enjoined the reading of them *twice* a year (Strype's Parker, App. p. 48), together with the 'Declaration' above mentioned (p. 119), which was also to be

read *twice*. Grindal, A.D. 1571, makes the same order with regard to the 'Articles' (Cardwell's Docum. Annals, I. 370), and enjoins the use of them (A.D. 1576) when there was no sermon (Ibid. I. 401). They were also ordered to be read twice a year as late as the time of Charles II. (Ibid. II. 308).

in deliberations respecting the Book of Articles¹; and this surmise is considerably strengthened by the fact, that on the same day an English Manuscript, belonging to the library of archbishop Parker², was signed by the primate and ten of his comprovincials³. The subject might possibly have been resumed on the 23rd of May, when the prelates are said to have had another meeting of two hours' duration, and when they might have sanctioned the few emendations of the Articles, which had been meanwhile introduced into both the Latin and the English texts⁴; but no further trace of their proceedings has been hitherto detected, and the Convocation was itself dissolved on the 30th of the same month.

Were the revised Articles accepted by Convocation?

It is natural to expect that the Articles, in their finally revised condition, would be submitted to both houses of the Synod and again regularly subscribed. Such indeed is implied in the language of the royal ratification, which was appended to editions, both

¹ Bennett, 263.

² An exact copy is contained in Dr Lamb's publication, No. iv. It was probably a transcript from the *Little Book* (see above, p. 142), amended so as to become the 'book imprinted' of Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12, which would not receive the royal assent till the close of the parliament and convocation. At any rate, the variations between it and the printed copies of 1571 imply that some further revision of it took place after the 11th of May. Bennett, 311—315. The same learned writer shews that the 'Canons' of this year were, in like manner, authoritatively modified, *after* the subscriptions of the bishops were appended, 345, 346.

³ These were Robert (Horne)

of Winchester, John (Scory) of Hereford, Richard (Cox) of Ely, Nicholas (Bolingham) of Worcester, John (Jewel) of Salisbury, Edmund (Guest) of Rochester, Nicholas (Robinson) of Bangor, Richard (Curteis) of Chichester, Thomas (Cooper) of Lincoln, William (Bradbridge) of Exeter. They describe themselves, 'We, tharchbisshoppes and bisshoppes of *either* Province of this realme of Englande,' &c. intending, it may be, to forward a copy of the document to the northern convocation. They also mention the Articles as 'thirty-eight' in number, two, viz. the 35th and 36th (respecting the Homilies and the Ordinal), being in this copy united in one Article.

⁴ Bennett, chap. xxii. *passim*.

English and Latin, put forth in the same year¹. But as the original copy or copies of the work have altogether perished, like that of the previous Convocation, we cannot ascertain the precise number of signatures by which it was ultimately approved. Bennett² has indeed called attention to a copy of the Latin edition of 1563, accompanied by names of the lower House, who had subscribed the Articles of Religion in the course of the present year; but the time at which those signatures had been made was probably the earlier part of April, when (as we have seen) the members of the lower House had been all ordered to subscribe on pain of exclusion from the Synod. Still, the fact that the whole of the 29th Article, as well as a number of minor changes, was now to be absolutely enforced upon the clergy, would weigh as a reason for submitting the Formulary to their approval when the task of revision was completed; so that, however much we may desiderate the original document, there can be little or no doubt of the ultimate acceptance by the Church of the particular version of the Articles which were eventually ordered to be 'holden and executed' by the ratification of the Queen.

It is remarkable that neither this royal sanction, nor the canons passed in the present Synod, providing³

No allusions made by the Queen or Synod to the Act 13 Eliz. c. 12.

¹ The Latin, 'apud Johannem Dayum, typographum. An. Domini, 1571:' the English, 'at London in Powles Churchyard, by Richarde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, Printers to the Queenes Maiestie, in Anno Domini, 1571.'

² Chap. xx.

³ 'Quivis minister Ecclesiæ, antequam in sacram functionem ingrediatur, *subscribet omnibus Articulis* de religione Christiana, in quos consensus est in synodo; et publice ad populum, ubicunque episcopus jusserit, patefaciet conscientiam suam, quid

de illis Articulis, et universa doctrina sentiat.' Cardwell, Synod. i. 120. And in the famous canon 'Concionatores,' after declaring, that preachers shall never teach any thing as matter of faith except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and which Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected out of the same doctrine, it is added: 'Et quoniam Articuli illi religionis Christianæ, in quos consensus est ut episcopis in legitima et sancta synodo, jussu

that candidates for holy orders shall henceforward sign the Articles, make the slightest allusion to the Act of parliament by which they had been previously incorporated into the statute-law of England. This silence, on the part of Queen Elizabeth, is to be explained by her unflinching belief in the boundless prerogatives of the Crown; and on the part of the clergy, by their disinclination to recognise the difference which had been drawn in the recent Act, between the doctrinal and the other Articles: they both unquestionably foresaw, with more or less distinctness, that the intermeddling of such a body, in questions of this kind, would foster the growth and ultimate predominance of the democratic element in the Church, and end (if not providentially counteracted) by imperilling alike the altar and the throne.

So far, indeed, was the Convocation of 1571 from bending under the puritanical storm which was now raging in all quarters, that the Articles issued from the last revision without suffering the threatened mutilation, or any considerable change. The twenty-ninth (as we have already noticed) was now inserted into every copy; and the clause affirming the authority of the Church,—though wanting in the draft which had been subscribed by some of the bishops, as it was also in the *English* edition of 1563, upon which that Manuscript was modelled¹—is found in all the English copies of this date, which have any claim to be regarded genuine². It is wanting indeed in one

Nature of
the altera-
tions in the
Articles, in
1571.

atque auctoritate serenissimæ principis Elizabethæ convocata et celebrata, haud dubie collecti sunt ex sacris libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti, et cum cœlesti doctrina, quæ in illis continetur, per omnia congruunt.... quicunque mittetur ad docendum populum illorum Articulorum auctoritatem et fidem, non tantum concionibus suis, sed etiam subscriptione confirmabunt.' Ib.

127. Cf. 'Articuli per archiepiscopum etc. in Synodo,' 1584, ib. i. 141.

¹ Bennett, 336.

² Ibid. c. xxiv. This point is proved from a minute correspondence between an English copy (in Bennett's work marked E) and the language of a letter of Archbishop Parker (dated June 4, 1571, *i. e.* immediately after the close of the convoca-

Latin edition of 1571, printed by John Day, although it appears to have existed in other copies¹ in the same language, of the same date, and from the same press; so that whether we attribute the omission to accident or design, to the intrigues of Leicester² and the puritan party, or to the timidity of the editor³ appointed by the Synod to superintend the publication of the Articles, there can be little doubt of its approval at that time, and none of its present obligation⁴.

The rest of the changes which appear in the authorised versions of this period will be hereafter exhibited in detail⁵: it is sufficient to observe at present, that they leave the original purport of the Articles altogether unaffected, and are either emendations in the wording of the titles, or corrections in the English draft from the older Latin copy, or explanations of a few words which were capable of misconstruction. The only positive *addition* is in the list of apocryphal books, which now for the first time appeared at the end of the sixth Article.

But a more important subject belonging to this stage of our inquiry, is suggested by the existence of

Are the Latin and English Articles equally authoritative?

tion). In *this* edition, authenticated by the allusion of the primate, the disputed clause is found.

¹ *e.g.* in the Latin edition, by John Day, printed in Bp Sparrow's 'Collection,' which differs in three other material particulars from the extant copy of Day's edition.

² Fuller speaks of him as the 'patron-general of non-subscribers.'

³ *i.e.* Bishop Jewel (see above, p. 147). This is the supposition of Mr Soames, Elizabethan Hist. 152. If any such omission was made by that prelate, he clearly exceeded the powers which had

been granted by the synod: for so far from constituting him an irresponsible reviser, the order was that his duty of editor should commence 'when the Articles shall be fully agreed upon.'

⁴ The disputed clause occurs in the English copy of the Articles subscribed by Convocation in 1604, and therefore in the series contemplated by the 36th canon.

⁵ See Append. No. III., where the Articles, in this their final shape, are printed at length in Latin and English, by the side of the Forty-two Articles, together with collations of the most authentic copies of 1563.

the Articles both in English and in Latin. *Are the two versions equally authentic, or, in the event of a discrepancy¹ between them, can either be regarded as the paramount record?*

This question has been so clearly and summarily stated by Dr Waterland in his 'Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription,' that we cannot return a more satisfactory answer than by adopting his cogent language: 'As to the Articles, English and Latin, I may just observe for the sake of such readers as are less acquainted with these things; *first*, that the Articles were passed, recorded, and ratified in the year 1562, and *in Latin only*. *Secondly*, that those Latin Articles were revised and corrected by the Convocation of 1571. *Thirdly*, that an authentic English translation was then made of the Latin Articles by the same Convocation, and the Latin and English adjusted as nearly as possible. *Fourthly*, that the Articles thus perfected *in both languages* were published the same year, and by the royal authority. *Fifthly*, subscription was required the same year to the English Articles, called the Articles of 1562, by the famous act of the 13th of Elizabeth.

'These things considered, I might justly say with bishop Burnet, that the Latin and English are both *equally authentic*. Thus much, however, I may certainly infer, that if in any places the English version be ambiguous, where the Latin original is clear and determinate; the Latin ought to fix the more doubtful sense of the other, (as also *vice versa*,) it being evident that the Convocation, Queen, and Parliament intended the same sense in both².'

¹ A few such variations have been pointed out: *e.g.* in the ninth Article, the English, 'for them that believe and are *baptized*' = the Latin, '*renatis et credentibus*;' and just before, the English, 'there be no condemnation' = the Latin, '*nulla*

propter Christum est condemnatio.' Similarly, in the twelfth Article, the English, 'follow after justification' = the Latin, '*justificatos sequuntur*.'

² Works, II. 316, 317. Oxf. 1843.

In the whole course of the investigation which the language of Waterland so aptly closes, one thought must have been peculiarly impressed on the mind of every reader, as to the strong and uniform connexion subsisting between the Articles which we are now called upon to subscribe, and the actual state of the Church at the time of their compilation. This fact, so steadily attested by contemporary writers, to say nothing of the evidence supplied by the title of the document itself, cannot fail to have modified our views of its character as a standard of Christian truth. It was manifestly *designed* to be pacificatory, and at the same time polemical: it strove either by silence or by general statements of doctrine to calm the feverish speculations of the clergy upon a host of debateable questions; while on the other hand it provided a test by which the advocates of absolute errors, whether Romish or Anabaptist, Zwinglian or Puritanical, were excluded from the office of teaching within the jurisdiction of the English Church. To appeal, therefore, to the Articles of Religion as the one single measure of truth, or as a full and formal body of theology, sufficient for all times, is to forget the circumstances of the age in which they were produced;—it is to mistake what are justly regarded as a strong though modern bulwark, for the whole of the venerable fortress in which the ark of God is treasured¹.

The Articles
not intended
to be a *solitary*
standard
of doctrine.

Such has never been the language of those who in the period of the Reformation, as well as in the

¹ It is worthy of note that in the year 1675, during the discussions on the Test-Bill, Lord Shaftesbury (the profligate leader of what were then called the 'low-churchmen') demanded in the house of peers, 'How *much* is meant by the Protestant Religion?' Whereupon several bishops explained, 'that the Protestant Religion is compre-

hended in the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Catechism, the Homilies, and the Canons of the Church of England.' Lord Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' III. 323 : cf. the language of the prolocutor in the Convocation of 1689; Cardwell's Hist. of Conferences, 445, Oxf. 1841.

later crises of the Church, have stood forward as our champions against error on the right hand and the left. *Their* views of the nature and design of the Articles are in harmony with the memorable words of bishop Pearson, who like the prelates of the Elizabethan age, while encountering the emissaries of Rome, had also to contend with an opposite party who desired the 'reformation of the public doctrine¹.' After observing that on the puritanical hypothesis the book of Articles was, from the nature of the case, *defective*, he adds: 'It is not, nor is pretended to be, a complete body of divinity, or a comprehension and explication of all Christian doctrines necessary to be taught; but *an enumeration of some truths, which upon and since the Reformation have been denied by some persons; who upon their denial are thought unfit to have any cure of souls in this Church or realm; because they might by their opinions either infect their flock with error, or else disturb the Church with schism, or the realm with sedition*².'

After the above illustrations of the origin of the Articles, we shall next endeavour to describe the formation of one or two kindred documents,—which serve to throw light on the subject of our present inquiry; and then trace the various attempts which have been made in succeeding times either to change its contents or to unsettle its authority.

¹ No necessity of Reformation; Minor Works, II. 169; ed. Churton.

² Answer to Burges, *ibid.* II. 215.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAMBETH ARTICLES.

OF all the ancient 'clerks,' whom the leaders of the reformation-movement had continued to regard with peculiar deference, none held so high and commanding a place as the illustrious bishop of Hippo. In the writings of the Swiss and Saxon theologians, in Luther and Zwingli, in Bucer and Calvin, as well as in Melancthon and the rest of his coadjutors, the honoured name of St Augustine continually recurs: while the frequent citations from his works by the chief of the English reformers¹ demonstrate the confidence which they felt in his authority, and their delight in his sacred learning.

The high repute of St Augustine among the reformers.

But notwithstanding the veneration in which he was held by men of conflicting views, it cannot be denied that the system of St Augustine, at least on some speculative points, diverged from the corresponding statements of the rest of the Early Fathers². The controversies which had been kindled in all quarters by the zeal of the Pelagian party drove him to reflect more deeply on the nature and necessity of Grace; and the course of these mighty investigations, combining with his natural temperament, conducted him to the ulterior problem, of reconciling the truth of the Divine fore-knowledge with the parallel fact of individual freedom, and the consciousness of moral responsibility. The treasures of thought he had accu-

¹ This deference has been made the ground of animadversion by Bp Horsley, Sermon on 1 St Peter iii. 18—20, who thinks that the change in the Article on our Lord's descent into Hades was owing to doubts which had been entertained by St Augustine as to the import

of this passage.

² Mr Faber's Primitive Doctrine of Election, I. VIII. 96—111. Lond. 1836: Prof. Blunt's Sketch of the Church, Serm. IV. 167—177, Camb. 1836. This divergence did not escape the notice of Gardiner, Declaration (against Joye) fol. LXXIX.

culated during this long and original process were made to supply a multitude of topics for the later disputations of the schools¹: and it was out of the same source that the Genevan reformer, in the middle of the sixteenth century, professed² to have drawn the materials of the system, which he then reared with consummate skill, and bequeathed to a race of admiring disciples, impressed with his own name.

The influence
of Calvin and
his school.

How far the contemporary school of Calvin affected the English reformation, has been a frequent subject of debate. It is true that his earliest assertion of the doctrines appertaining to our present inquiry was the close of the year 1551³, and therefore some time after the compilation of the Articles and the Offices of worship: but if it be conceded that his teaching on Predestination and the other kindred questions is identical with that of St Augustine, the Formularies of the Church may still have been to some extent tinged with 'Calvinism,' although not immediately

¹ 'Of predestination and reprobation, it is our part to speak advisedly. But that the only will of God is the cause of reprobation, being taken as it is contrary to predestination, not only St Paul and St Augustine, but the best and learnedest schoolmen have largely and invincibly proved.' Dr Whitaker to the Archbishop, in Strype's Whitgift, App. No. xxv. p. 200. For the interesting disputes on these questions at the Council of Trent, see Sarpi, i. 367, seqq.

² See Instit. Lib. III. c. 22, § 8, where he disingenuously affirms that St Augustine claimed the support of the other Fathers, the fact being that he appeals only to three writers of the age anterior to his own. Mr Faber's

Doctrine of Election, ubi sup.

³ Archbp. Laurence, Serm. II. note (14). Yet the *name* of Calvin must have been well known in England before this period, for he was of the number invited to take part in the religious 'Conference' which was projected as early as 1549: see above, pp. 78, 79. One of the first strictures upon him, by an English reformer, occurs in a letter of Hooper to Bucer (dated Zurich, June 19, 1548): 'I do not rightly understand what you write respecting Calvin. I had never any intention of using my pen either against him or Favell, *although his commentaries on the first Epistle to the Corinthians displeased me exceedingly.*' Original Letters, ed. P. S. 48.

derived from the writings of Calvin¹. This identity, however, cannot be maintained by any one who is intimately versed in the systems of theology as they came from the schools of Geneva and Hippo: for much as the Calvinists were indebted to their venerable predecessor, they so far exaggerated some portions of his teaching, and so far curtailed or abandoned others, that in spite of similarity of language a deep and even a fundamental change is observable on passing from the ancient to the modern doctor. One striking example of this diversity relates to the question of 'final perseverance,' or the amissibility of regenerating grace. In both systems it was maintained that no more than a remnant of the human family were actual partakers of the gift entitled the 'grace of perseverance:' yet Augustine held that others, not included in this remnant, were possessed of a true and justifying faith, which they might notwithstanding forfeit altogether; while Calvin absolutely restricted the communication of spiritual gifts to those whom a decree irreversibly exempted from the possibility of ultimate perdition². In the one case there was a clear and

His system
divergent
from that
of St August-
tine.

¹ It is unquestionable that many of these points had been opened in the reign of Edw. VI., and even earlier: Heylin's *Historia Quinqu-Articularis*, Part III. c. 16: Gardiner against Joye, *passim*.

² Cf. the Augustinian Treatise 'de Correctione et Gratia,' c. 6 and c. 13, or 'de Prædestinatione Sanctorum,' c. 14, with Calvin's 'Institutiones,' Lib. III. c. 24, § 6. It is very observable that the distinction was felt at the compiling of the Lambeth Articles, for in the emendations of Whitaker's theses by the archbishop and his colleagues, an important change was made in Art. v.: 'In autographo Whitakeri verba erant

"in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt," pro quibus à Lambethanis substituta sunt, "in electis" sensu planè alio et *ad mentem Augustini*; cum in autographo sint *ad mentem Calvini*. Augustinus enim opinatus est, verum fidem quæ per dilectionem operatur, per quam contingit adoptio, justificatio et sanctificatio, *posse et intercidi et amitti*; fidem vero esse commune donum *electis et reprobis*, sed perseverantiam electis propriam: Calvinus autem, veram et justificantem fidem *solis* salvandis et electis contingere.' See Append. No. v. Hutton, Archbishop of York, suggested an alteration in Art. VI., on the ground that as it stood it was

positive check upon the desolating influence of presumption as well as of lawlessness and desperation: in the other, where grace was arbitrarily withheld except from the finally saved, we need not wonder that the feeling of responsibility was endangered, if not altogether uprooted.

Embraced by
many of the
Marian
exiles;

It is probable indeed that distinctions of this kind were unnoticed by many of the ardent refugees who sought shelter from the Marian persecutions under the roofs of 'Calvinistic' reformers, and who were chiefly instrumental in opening the disputes which are still rending the Church of England. The number of such exiles was very considerable, embracing a majority of those who from the special emergency of the times were advanced, at the opening of the reign of Elizabeth, to the highest ecclesiastical honours. We may trace the effects of their long association with the leading Swiss reformers, by contrasting their future conduct with that of the smaller band of scholars, who lived in comparative retirement at home, during the triumphs of the Romanizing faction. These were in almost every case untainted, either by the disciplinary scruples of their brethren, or by the harsh and even blasphemous notions which many a predestinarian zealot brought back from his foreign masters¹. They acted as the conservative elements of the Church in the midst of a troublous period, when there was 'a continual struggling to throw off its godly orders,' or 'to break in pieces those consti-

opposed to St Augustine, who taught, 'Reprobi quidem vocati, justificati, per lavacrum regenerationis renovati sunt, et tamen exeunt,' etc. Strype's Whitgift, 461, ed. 1718: cf. the Augsburg Confession, Part I. § 12; where notwithstanding the uniform reverence for St Augustine, the notion that 'persons once justified cannot lose the Holy Spirit,' is denounced as an error of the

Anabaptists. This charge seems to have been made against the Cambridge 'Calvinists' in 1595: Strype's Whitgift, 434.

¹ Some of them did not blush to say, that 'all evil springeth of God's ordinance, and that God's predestination was the cause of Adam's fall, and of all wickedness.' See other instances in Heylin, Hist. of the Presbyterians, 243, Oxf. 1670.

tutions, on which it was established;’ and had no such better elements survived, ‘it would in all probability have never been able to have subsisted afterwards¹.’ The admission of the doctrines of Geneva might have led the way to its ‘pretended holy discipline,’ and the forebodings of men like Richard Hooker have been fearfully accomplished.

It is not unlikely that the general respect for the authority of St Augustine continued to aid the circulation of the strong ‘Calvinian’ tenets, or at least, to disarm the hostility of some who could not fail to foresee the disastrous results in which they were sure to issue. Among this number we may class the venerable Parker, who had reluctantly obeyed the royal nomination to the helm of the English Church². The sobriety of himself and a few faithful coadjutors succeeded in thwarting the vigorous attempt to infuse a distinctively Genevan spirit into the public Formularies of Faith. As early as 1559, when the exiles were anxious to exhibit a declaration of their doctrine to the Queen, they laid peculiar stress on the tenet of Predestination³ as ‘a thing fruitful and profitable to be known,’ appealing moreover to the example which had been set them by St Augustine: yet we look in vain for any mention of that tenet in the test which was immediately put in circulation both in this and the sister island; and in the subsequent revision of the Edwardine Formulary, we have seen that the language of the Article on Predestination

yet not
ingrafted
on the
Anglican
Formularies:

¹ See Strype’s Observations on Archbp. Parker; Life, 543.

² See a curious account of one Richard Kechyn, whom the archbishop preferred, ‘charging him not to preach controversial sermons on the Divine Counsels,’ in Mr Haweis’ Sketches of the Reformation, 95. The obedient clerk was afterwards rebuked for his silence by one of the itine-

rant preachers, who declared that ‘Predestination should and ought to be preached in every sermon and in every place, before all congregations, as the only doctrine of salvation,’ &c.

³ Strype’s Annals, i. 116. They admit, however, that ‘in this our corrupt age,’ discreet ministers should speak ‘sparely and circumspectly’ of such matters.

was somewhat softened or restrained, instead of contracting the more rigorous tone which was gradually pervading the great body of the Church.

continued
to increase
during the
reign of
Elizabeth.

The controversy, however, of which that doctrine was a prominent member, continued rather to increase with the lapse of the Elizabethan period; and it may be confidently affirmed that for an interval of nearly thirty years the *extreme* opinions of the school of Calvin, embracing the dogma of irrespective reprobation, were almost everywhere triumphant. He became, if we may employ the parallel of Hooker¹, what the Master of the Sentences was in the Church of Rome, 'so that the perfectest divines were judged they, which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings.' Even the 'horrible' dictum² 'which speaks little better of our gracious God than this, that God should design many thousand of souls to hell before they were, not in eye to their faults, but to His own absolute will and power,'—was, in the language of Harsnet, in 1584, 'grown high and monstrous, and like a Goliah, and men do shake and tremble at it; yet never a man reacheth to David's sling to cast it down. In the name of the Lord of Hosts,' he adds, 'we will encounter it, for it hath reviled not the host of the living God, but the Lord of Hosts³.'

The origin
of the
'Lambeth
Articles.'

Such, then, was the general condition of the

¹ Pref. to Eccl. Pol. chap. ii. § 8. In a MS. note of Hooker on 'A Christian Letter,' &c. he asks ironically, 'What should the world doe with the old musty doctors? Alleage scripture, and shew it alleaged in the sense that Calvin alloweth, and it is of more force in any man's defense, and to the prooffe of any assertion, than if ten thousand Augustines, Jeromes, Chrysostomes, Cyprians, or whosoever els were brought foorth. Doe we not daily see that men are accused of heresie for

holding that which the fathers held, and that they never are cleere, *if they find not somewhat in Calvin to justify themselves?*' Works, i. 139, note (33), ed. Keble.

² Calvin himself says, '*horribile quidem decretum fateor,*' in contemplating his own theory of reprobation. Instit. Lib. iii. c. 23, § 7.

³ Quoted in Heylin, Histor. Quinqu-Articul. Part iii. ch. xvii. § 4.

Church in respect of the predestinarian controversy, when the predominant party attempted to fix and perpetuate their system, by compiling the memorable document which is known by the name of the 'Lambeth Articles.'

The main-spring of all the movement is found in the rigorously Calvinistic tenets of Dr Whitaker, a distinguished polemical writer, and the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Assisted by Chadderton and Perkins¹, the latter of whom was peculiarly violent, he resolved on immediate measures for checking the growth of 'Pelagianism and Popery,' as it was the fashion to characterize the teaching which demurred to the dicta of Calvin. The leader of the opposite party was the Margaret Professor of Divinity, Baro, or Baron, by name, who had sought an asylum in this country at an early period of his life, and by the favour of Burleigh had occupied his present post since 1574 or 1575. Though naturally of a mild and retiring spirit, he was uniform in opposing the principles avowed by his brother professor, and advocated more or less by a majority of the senior members of the Senate. His learned lectures, however, had the effect of diminishing the extreme value which had been set upon the works of the Swiss reformers: and as the new generation, which had been trained by his teaching, replaced the more sturdy admirers of Calvin, the 'Institutions' and other similar text-books were exchanged for the primitive Fathers and sometimes for the Schoolmen².

The contest
at Cambridge.

¹ His 'Armilla Aurea, containing the order of the causes of salvation and damnation,' was published in 1592, for the use of students, and tended, perhaps, more than the writings of the other party, to damage the character of 'Calvinism' by pursuing it into its logical results.

² In a report of the Vice-Chancellor and others to Whit-

gift, who had sanctioned their search into private studies (Strype's Whitgift, 438), it is stated that things had already grown to such a pass, that 'instead of godly and sound writers, among their stationers, the new writers were very rarely bought; and that there were no books more ordinarily bought and sold than popish writers,' &c.

Baro's anti-Calvinistic teaching:

Very soon after the date of his arrival at Cambridge, Baro had ventured to urge from the history of Nineveh, that 'it is the will of God we should have eternal life, if we believe and persevere in the faith of Christ; but if we do not believe, or believing only for a time, do not persevere, then it is not the will of God we should be saved¹.' And a further exposition of his doctrine survives in the sermon 'ad clerum' which he preached in 1595, when the Lambeth Articles were compiled. He there asserted three things, (1) 'That God created all men according to His own likeness in Adam, and so consequently, to eternal life; from which He chased no man, unless because of sin. (2) That Christ died sufficiently for all, shewing that the denial of this doctrine is contrary to the Confession of the Church of England, and the Articles approved by the parliament of this kingdom, and confirmed by the Queen's authority. (3) That the promises of God made to us, as they are *generally* propounded to us, were to be generally understood, as it is set down in the seventeenth Article².'

retires from the University.

Notwithstanding the apparent moderation of these statements and the 'modest' way in which they are said to have been delivered, the unfortunate professor was cited before Dr Goade the Vice-Chancellor of the University; and although the proceedings against him were eventually stopped by the interposition of his patron Burleigh, he did not offer himself for re-election, retiring from the field of contest in 1596³.

But while the friend of Andrewes and Overall, and the champion of the English Church, was thus driven from his post by the innovating zeal of the 'Calvinian' party, another victim inferior both in age and reputation excited their indignant activity to a still

¹ Prælect. in Jonam Prophetam, xxx. 217: Lond. 1579.

² Strype's Whitgift, 466. See also his 'Orthodox Explanation of the nine propositions concluded upon at Lambeth.' Ibid.

App. No. xxvi. and the 'Assertionones' of his accusers, *ibid.* 470. Their great objection was to his doctrine of 'universal redemption.'

³ Ibid. 473.

more feverish pitch. William Barrett was a fellow of Caius College, and one of the warmest spirits in the number who 'liked not Calvin's scheme.' A sermon, 'ad clerum,' which he preached at St Mary's church on the 29th of April¹, 1595, contained a strong and even virulent attack on the popular system of theology; where, besides a denial of the indefectibility of grace and the received doctrine of assurance, he indulged in a number of bitter reflections upon Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, and others, who had taught the doctrine of irrespective reprobation². Very soon after the delivery of this sermon the offender was cited before the Vice-Chancellor and heads of houses, and urged at several successive meetings to retract the obnoxious language. He finally consented to this course, and on the 10th of May read out in St Mary's church, a form of recantation³ which had been provided by some of the University authorities, if not by Dr Whitaker himself. The insincerity of this act, like many similar ones in all ages, was instantly made apparent; and on the 26th of the same month several members of the senate reopened the dispute by presenting a memorial to the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues, denouncing the sermon upon the score of its 'savouring of popish doctrine in the whole course and tenour thereof,' and reflecting on the 'unreverend manner' in which it had been withdrawn.

The proceedings against Barrett.

His retraction.

The controversy reopened:

The cause was now carried by both parties to Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury. On one side the letter of the heads of houses (bearing date June 12,) complained of Barrett's behaviour, and stigmatized

appeal to the primate.

¹ Heylin, Hist. Quinqu-Artic. Part III. c. 20, § 6, 7.

² Strype, Whitgift, 436: and cf. Bk. IV. App. No. XXIII.

³ Ibid. App. No. XXII. It is observable that he was taught to discern the doctrine of reprobation in the 17th Article, although Whitaker in writing to

the archbishop is more cautious. His words are, 'For the points of doctrine, we are fully persuaded, that Mr Barret hath taught untruth, *if not against the Articles*, yet against the religion of our Church, publicly received,' &c. Ibid. Bk. IV. No. XXV.

his teaching as 'injurious to the worthy learned men of our times,' as 'strongly savouring of the leaven of popery,' and as 'contrary to the doctrine of the nature of faith set forth in the Articles of Religion and Homilies appointed to be read in Churches¹.' On the other hand, Barrett appealed from the Vice-chancellor to the Primate, alleging that his opponents were no more than a puritanical faction in the University, for that many who studied truth and peace had refused to join the present persecution; and while admitting that he had dealt roughly with Calvin, directed his chief indignation against Perkins, whose book 'On the Apostles' Creed,' though denying an article of the faith², had not been hitherto discountenanced by any of the University authorities. On these grounds he prayed the Archbishop to interpose, and save him from the malice of his enemies who had already punished him enough by stopping his degree³.

Whitgift's
first impres-
sions favour-
able to
Barrett,

The first impressions of Whitgift seem to have been somewhat in favour of the appellant, for in a message to the Vice-chancellor and heads of houses, he condemned the warmth of their recent proceedings and asserted his own prerogative in the adjudication of doctrinal questions. In particular he objected that some points of the retractation, which they had forced upon Barrett, were 'contrary to the doctrine holden and expressed by many sound and learned divines⁴ in

¹ Strype, Whitgift, 437, 438.

² Alluding to the 'descent into hell,' which the Calvinists expounded of our Lord's extreme mental sufferings.

³ Strype, *ibid.* 438, 439.

⁴ One of these was Hooker's bosom-friend Saravia, and a favourite of Whitgift. He was frequently at Lambeth and wrote (apparently for the Archbishop) a 'Censure of Barrett's Retracting.' *Ibid.* Bk. iv. App. xxiv. It is a sober and elaborate pro-

duction, breathing far more the spirit of Augustine than of Calvin, and quoting the former authority throughout. He concludes by censuring the acrimonious language of Barrett, and by declaring 'Fuerunt et sunt adhuc hodie in diversis ecclesiis quamplures fideles Christi servi bene de Ecclesia meriti, qui non idem de prædestinatione sentiunt, qui tamen se mutua charitate fuerunt amplexi nec ullius sese mutuo hæreseos insimulant,' 198. —

the Church of England,' and which he 'for his own part thought to be false and contrary to the Scriptures.' Of the contumelious language in which Barrett had animadverted upon the Calvinistic writers, he expressed his entire disapprobation, adding that he 'did not allow the same towards Augustine, Jerome, and other learned fathers, which nevertheless had often been abused in the University without control. And yet,' he proceeded, 'if a man would have occasion to control Calvin for his bad and unchristian censure of King Henry VIII., or him and others in that peremptory and false reproof of the Church of England in divers points, and likewise in some other singularities, he knew no article of religion against it. Much less did he know any cause why men should be violently dealt withal for it, or termed ungodly, popish, impudent. For the doctrine of the Church of England did in no respect depend upon them¹.'

Emboldened by the result of his former application, and apprehensive lest his enemies should have strength enough to deprive him of his fellowship, Barrett now ventured to desire from the Primate a formal statement of the truth in the controversy which continued to distract the University of Cambridge. The heads of houses in the meanwhile started the question as to the right of the Archbishop to interfere in matters like the present, and from the warmth which this point excited on both sides, it is probable that the case of Barrett would have been thrown altogether into the background, had not Whitaker undertaken to mediate between the contending parties. His former service to the Church in answering Bellarmine had placed him very high in the opinion of

who submits
to the
archbishop's
judgment.

Influence of
Whitaker.

There is also a 'Censura Censuræ D. Barreti,' among the Minor Works of Bp Andrewes, Oxf. 1846, 301, seqq. It is confined, however, to one point, viz. the certainty of salvation,

which Whitaker and his school maintained. In the same place will be found the 'judgment' of that prelate touching the Lambeth Articles.

¹ Strype's Whitgift, 441.

Whitgift, and the conciliatory tone which he adopted at this stage of the dispute, was still more in favour of his faction. He did not venture to assert that the teaching of Barrett had contradicted the language of the Articles, nay, he was now not unwilling to concede that the topics chiefly controverted 'were not concluded and defined by public authority¹;' yet inasmuch as the Church had been violently disturbed, and as the opinions of his adversary were novel and offensive, he requested the Archbishop to use his influence in exacting from Barrett a further recantation.

Controversy
renewed.

After a comparative lull of some weeks, the contest was renewed in the following September, by the 'Calvinian' heads of houses, who forwarded a more dutiful communication to the Primate, imploring him to allow a rigorous inquiry into the real opinions of the offender, in order that the grievous scandal which had been given 'not only to malicious enemies but also to weak professors,' might be at length entirely removed². In compliance with their wish a string of questions³ 'nicely propounded and suited critically to the principles of Whitaker,' was now forced upon the notice of Barrett, who appears to have answered them at Lambeth. His replies were immediately sent to his implacable accusers, and submitted to the strictures of Whitaker, who began by denouncing them 'as not only indirect and insufficient, but for the most part

Barrett
examined
afresh, at
Lambeth.

¹ Strype's Whitgift, App. No. xxv. 199: cf. the remarks of Dr Waterland on this letter; Works, II. 343, 344, Oxf. 1843.

² Ibid. 451, 452. In this document they characterize the positions of Barrett as 'contrary to the doctrine of our Church set down in the Book of Articles, in the Apology of the Church of England, and in the Defence of the same, in Catechisms commanded by authority to be used, and in the Book of Common

Prayer:' but as Waterland remarks, 'they neither specify those positions, nor at that time point to any Article, or particular passage of the Catechisms or Common-Prayer, so that this general charge is of little or no moment.' Ibid. 344.

³ They were eight in number, and relate to the indefectibility of 'justifying faith' and the other topics which had been handled by the anti-Calvinistic preacher. Strype, *ibid.* 452, 453.

popish also.' He urged in particular, that the views of Barrett respecting the nature of faith, were opposed to the statement of the Articles¹,—but in what way he neglected to specify; and on the 17th of September, the heads of houses, with undiminished vigour, sent up a new list² of animadversions in addition to those which the Regius Professor had already transmitted to Lambeth.

Whitaker's
strictures on
his answer.

Whitgift, in his turn, was now changed into a mediator, and while censuring some of the answers which Barrett had recently given, declared with regard to another (and that even a principal point of the dispute) that he could not see how it varied from the Articles of Religion³. He declared, however, that he had been greatly annoyed by the want of respect to academical authority, which the defendant appears to have betrayed in the whole of the present disputation⁴, and as the contest between the heads of houses and himself was now amicably adjusted, he was not unwilling to aid them in correcting the unruly spirit, whom they were anxious to curb or banish. He therefore appointed a second meeting at Lambeth where Barrett was finally examined in the presence of a deputation from Cambridge, of which Whitaker was one; and after modifying some of his doctrinal statements, and recalling his acrimonious observations upon Calvin, he consented to make a public retractation in terms of his own devising; which seems, however, to have been delayed till the commencement of the following year, and then altogether abandoned⁵.

The arch-
bishop
attempts to
moderate.

¹ Strype, Whitgift, 453.

² Ibid. 454.

³ Ibid. 455, 456.

⁴ Ibid. 457.

⁵ A letter of his to Dr Goade (in Heylin's *Histor. Quinqu-Artic. Part III. ch. xx. § 10*) appears to establish this point in opposition to Strype. He there says: 'But if you and the rest of your assistants (whom I re-

verence) do purpose to proceed in disquieting and traducing me as you have done by the space of three quarters of this year, and so in the end mean to drive me out of the University, I must take it patiently, because I know not how to redress it: but let God be judge between you and me.' According to Fuller, he afterwards went abroad and con-

But while this controversy was still pending, another plan had been suggested to Whitaker and his party for obtaining a more authoritative sanction of their ultra-Calvinistic tenets, and for ejecting not only Barrett but Baro from the University of Cambridge, or it might be altogether from the Church.

Calvinistic
Conference
in London,
Nov. 1595.

Having paved the way in a vehement sermon¹ from the pulpit of St Mary's, Dr Whitaker proceeded to London early in November, 1595, at the desire, it would seem, of the heads of houses, in order that he might be present at a conference for allaying the animosity which had been everywhere excited by the proceedings above recounted. Another member of the deputation was Tyndal, dean of Ely, who had before taken the most active part in prosecuting Barrett, and had been present also at his final examination. How long this conference continued it is difficult to ascertain. Whitaker was in London on the 19th of November, as we know from a letter which he then wrote to Burleigh², the Chancellor of Cambridge, and as there is some reason for believing, that the disputes among the Calvinists were animated and protracted³, it is probable that they had assembled very early in the month. Heylin and others⁴ inform us that the 'propositions,' which form the result of their labours were submitted to the notice of the Primate on the 10th of November, while Strype⁵ mentions that the work was actually completed on the 20th of the same month. The truth seems to be that Whitaker and the friends, who aided him in making the original draught of the Lambeth Articles, held a number of preliminary meetings in private⁶; and that after they had determined the precise shape

Original
draught of
the 'Lambeth
Articles.'

formed to the Church of Rome.
Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge,
286; new ed.

¹ Strype, Whitgift, 460.

² Ibid.

³ Articuli Lambethani, 4,
Lond. 1651.

⁴ Heylin, Hist. Quinqu. Part
III. ch. xxi. § 2: Collier, II. 644.

⁵ Ibid. 461.

⁶ Perhaps at the house of
Nowell, dean of St Paul's, from
whence the above letter to Bur-
leigh is dated.

of their production it was immediately presented to the Archbishop for his approbation or correction.

The conduct of Whitgift in this matter has occasioned very different conjectures as to the motives by which he was actuated, in lending even a partial assent to the theses of the Cambridge doctors. In addition to the inference which might be drawn from the favour he shewed to men like Harsnet¹, Saravia² and Hooker³, his own language in the case of Barrett would lead to the supposition that he shrank from the full development of the views propounded at Geneva. Yet, on the other hand, it is certain that he sympathized at least to a considerable extent with Whitaker and the Calvinistic party: and if the desire of peace⁴ and the dread of innovation may be thought to have operated in his recognition of the Lambeth Articles, he had, notwithstanding, come to the deliberate conclusion that after the modifications to which they were eventually submitted, he 'agreed fully with them and they with him⁵.'

Conduct and principles of the Archbishop.

¹ After the publication of the Sermon (see above, p. 160) in which he had so strongly objected to the dogma of reprobation, he was made the archbishop's chaplain, and treated with peculiar kindness.

² See the paper above referred to, p. 164, note (4); from which it is clear that the tenets of Saravia were strictly *Augustinian*, and opposed to the system of Whitaker and Calvin.

³ Hooker, in like manner, modified the Calvinistic theory, denying the doctrine of reprobation altogether, and following the language of St Augustine on the efficacy of the sacraments. See *his* version of the Lambeth Articles: Works, ed. Keble, i. c. 2, Eccl. Pol. v. lx. 3, and App.

to Bk. v. pp. 596, 597.

⁴ In the short history of this compilation prefixed to the 'Articuli Lambethani,' Lond. 1651, we have the following statement, which must be taken, however, *cum grano salis*: 'Whitgiftus, princeps ejus conventus, etsi Whitakeri dogmata *minime probabat, facilitate tamen et metu discordiæ, cum suam probare aliis non posset, factus est ipse alienæ sententiæ accessio, 4.*'

⁵ See his own memoranda in Strype, 459. He adds, 'I know them to be sound doctrines and uniformly professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority. And therefore I thought it meet that Barret should in more humble

The changes
introduced
into the ori-
ginal draught
of the Arti-
cles.

During the conference which preceded their publication, he was mainly if not altogether assisted by Richard Fletcher, recently translated to the bishopric of London, by Richard Vaughan bishop-elect of Bangor, and the above-mentioned deputation of divines from Cambridge¹. So far as we are able to determine, they were all more or less of the school which Barrett and the Margaret Professor had ventured to assail, and it was consequently to be expected that the new test of doctrine would savour considerably of the channel from which it had been drawn. Yet on comparing the rough draught of the Articles as they came from the pen of Whitaker with the form which they ultimately assumed, we shall perceive that they underwent a number of corrections, all of which tended to make them less offensive to the anti-calvinistic party. For example, there was a phrase in the original copy declaring that 'all who had ever been partakers of true faith and of the sanctifying Spirit' must eventually be accepted: while in the Article, as amended and imposed upon the Church, the indefectibility of grace was affirmed not of all who had been regenerate and justified, but of 'the elect,' in accordance with the language of Augustine. A similar deference was shewn in modifying the statement of another Article on the nature of assurance or the certainty of faith, and of a third touching the manner and degree in which grace is communicated or withheld with respect to the world at large².

Yet in spite of these mitigating clauses, attributable to the influence of Whitgift, the 'orthodoxal

sort confess his ignorance and error: and that none should be suffered to teach any contrary doctrine to the foresaid propositions agreed upon.'

¹ The corrected copy of the Articles in Strype is headed, 'Articuli approbati a reverendissimis dominis D.D. Joanne archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et

Richardo episcopo Londinensi et aliis Theologis, Lambethæ, Novembris 20, anno 1595.'

² For these and other variations see Append. No. v., where the Articles are printed in the original Latin, with notes and emendations by the bishops and divines.

propositions,' as they were frequently entitled, aroused in the doctors of the subsequent period the most unmeasured condemnation¹. Nor can it be denied that the harshness of their tone and their unshrinking assertion of the 'horrible decree' were calculated to inflame the disputations which they vainly struggled to suppress. Their aim was to fasten upon the Church a number of arbitrary definitions, ill according with the spirit of the men by whom the Reformation had been carried, and altogether out of harmony² with the Prayer-Book and the elder Formularies of Faith. Some indeed have represented them as no more than interpretative statements³, deducible from the authorized Articles of Religion; but we must despair of connecting them with that work by any of the ordinary processes of thought. On the other hand it is natural to infer from this attempt to introduce a more stringent measure and to speak a less faltering language, that in respect of the points which were then so violently urged by the ruling school at Cambridge, the Church had before been either silent and undecided, or absolutely antagonistic.

Their offensiveness and innovating character.

Be this, however, as it may, the Articles of Dr Whitaker, as accepted by the Primate and a few more of his episcopal brethren, have no claim whatever to be viewed as synodical determinations either now or then binding on the Church. We may quote them as melancholy illustrations of the age in which they were compiled, or may welcome them as proofs that certain tenets which we cherish were strenuously pressed to their logical results by the men

Their want of all ecclesiastical authority.

¹ See an extreme specimen in Warburton's Remarks on Neal's Hist. of the Puritans: Works, vii. 899; Lond. 1788.

² Collier, ii. 645, seqq., Heylin, Histor. Quinqu-Art. Part ii. ch. viii. seqq., and Laurence, Bampton Lectures, *passim*.

³ See Fuller, Bk. ix. p. 232.

Hutton, archbishop of York, who yielded a general assent to them, employs a somewhat different language: 'Hæ theses ex sacris literis vel aperte colligi vel necessaria consecutione deduci possunt, et ex scriptis Augustini.' Strype, 461.

of a former generation: but as Whitgift was careful to instruct the University of Cambridge (Nov. 24), the document 'must be so taken and used as *their private judgments*,' who thought 'them to be true and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and established by the laws of the land, and *not as laws and decrees*'¹.

Their immediate suppression.

The displeasure of Lord Burleigh and still more of his royal mistress², combined with the death of Dr Whitaker, who survived the triumph he had won over the antagonists of Calvin no more than a few days, suspended the further circulation of the Articles even among the authorities of the University which had called them into being. They were offered indeed to Professor Baro by some of the heads of houses, and were the means of involving him still further in the controversy to which we have before adverted³: but after the month of January 159 $\frac{5}{6}$ ⁴ no more is heard of imposing the 'Lambeth propositions' as a test of doctrine or as an authorized interpretation of the Formularies of Faith, until the party, who had now extorted them from Whitgift, attempted at his death to incorporate them into the 'Articles of Religion' in 1604⁵.

The Church, however, had in the mean time strengthened her hold upon the truths of the earlier Reformation, and in Cambridge even, the new race of theologians, with Overall at their head, were supplanting the ardent auxiliaries of Calvin as well as the platform he had reared upon the ruins of the ancient faith.

¹ Strype, 462. Cf. Heylin, ubi sup. Part III. ch. xx. § 3, 4.

² Strype, 463, 464. The letter of Whitgift to the Vice-Chancellor (Dec. 8) advises him to comply with the royal wishes, and forbear urging them on the University. Fuller has a curious story of the Queen reminding the Primate, half in jest, that his recent conduct in 'calling a

council' had exposed him to a præmunire.

³ See p. 162.

⁴ They continued to excite 'much talk and resentment' for some months later, as we gather from a communication of Hutton to Whitgift, 'March 14, 1595' (i. e. 1596): Strype, 478.

⁵ Ibid. 480.

The time of reaction was commencing, and the spells by which he had bound and bewildered the finest intellects of Europe were soon to be utterly broken; or if some continued to accept the general features of his system, they owed it to the proximity of a wider and a purer creed that so many of his harsher tenets had been virtually withdrawn.

Reaction
from Calvin-
ism.

Unhappily this amelioration was confined to our own country: for in the sister-island, as we shall see in the following chapter, the Genevan spirit was destined to prevail during a much longer period, and to succeed in impressing the Lambeth Articles with a kind of ecclesiastical sanction.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE IRISH ARTICLES OF 1615.

The Irish Reformation, like the English.

THE Church of Ireland, after existing from the earliest ages of the Gospel, had gradually contracted the errors and diseases, which in the time preceding the Reformation were corrupting the Church of England. She threw them off, however, at the same period, by her own intrinsic vigour, and restoring the verities of the faith which had been partially perverted or forgotten, took her place at the side of her English sister, in the struggle with the Roman pontiffs.

Brief Declaration of 1566.

During the reigns of Henry and Edward, the Irish prelates had been accustomed to lean almost exclusively upon the acts of our own Convocation, having adopted the formularies of worship which emanated from this country under the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown¹. But, in 1560, the Elizabethan Prayer-Book was regularly accepted by the clergy², and the character of the Irish reformation became henceforward far more national. In 1566, as we have before noticed³, the 'Brief Declaration' of doctrine coinciding with our 'Eleven Articles,' was appointed to be read by the incumbents 'at their possession-taking, and twice every year afterwards;' but whether the

¹ The English Prayer Book was first used on Easter Sunday, 1551, at the commandment of Sir Anthony St Ledger, the Lord Deputy. Mant, Hist. of the Church, II. 204, 205; 2nd ed.

² Dr Elrington's Life of Archbp Ussher, 42.

³ See above, p. 121. It is worthy of remark, that during the reign of Elizabeth and long after the Union of Scotland with

England, the Scottish Church, as well as the Presbyterians, made use of the 'Confession of Faith' drawn up in 1560. Stephen's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, I. 95. Lond. 1843. The Presbyterians subsequently adopted the 'Westminster Confession,' and the Church our authorized 'Articles,' in the Convocation at Laurencekirk, 1804.

English Articles of 1562 were circulated simultaneously, as a co-ordinate authority, does not seem to have been fully settled. Archbishop Ussher stated, in a sermon which he preached in 1620¹, before the English House of Commons, 'We all agree that the Scriptures of God are the perfect rule of our faith; we all consent in the main grounds of religion drawn from thence; we *all subscribe to the Articles of doctrine* agreed upon in the synod of the year 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions,' &c.; yet his learned biographer contends, that this language cannot be considered as absolutely decisive when weighed against the evidence which may be urged on the other side of the question. He argues that the archbishop 'might have used the words in a general sense, as merely expressive of assent, and, indeed, *must* have done so, for many of the persons he addressed had never subscribed the Articles¹.'

Were the
English
Articles
authorized?

It is not unlikely that the want of some minuter test than the 'Eleven Articles' of archbishop Parker was one of the reasons which operated in the mind of the Irish prelates when they consented, in 1615, to the compilation of the longer series, which is the subject of the present chapter. Still, it may not be concealed, that more questionable agency was at work among some of the bishops and divines, who took part in the framing of such a Formulary. The rigorous Calvinistic spirit, which had before invaded the Church of England, and had struggled to fetter the working of her system by means of the Lambeth Articles, is said to have been even stronger at this period in the whole of the neighbouring kingdom; and, though baffled on our own side of the Channel, to have been there for a while triumphant. The propagation of the Genevan tenets, if due, in some measure, to political causes², was now more peculiarly aided by the influence of the learned Ussher, who had passed with unsullied reputation from his course of

The formation of the
Irish Articles
of 1615.

Influence of
Ussher,

¹ Ubi sup. 43, and note.

² Ibid. 43.

who made
the original
draught of
the Articles.

laborious study to occupy the chair of divinity in the University of Dublin¹. His opinions were afterwards softened², like those of many other theologians who were the glory of the Caroline period of the Church, but it is unquestionable that in the years of which we are now treating he was the unflinching advocate of Geneva, ranking with Whitaker and the rest, who endeavoured to purge the colleges at Cambridge from 'Popish and Pelagian' errors. Ussher is even said to have drawn up the Irish Articles himself, at the nomination of a Synod, which assembled at Dublin in 1615, and which sat concurrently with the civil legislature³, according to the English usage. The president was Jones, the Archbishop of Dublin, but very few particulars have, unhappily, survived of the nature of its proceedings, or the degree of cordiality with which it had accepted the Articles bearing its name⁴.

Summary of
their con-
tents.

They are a long and discursive compilation, extending to one hundred and four paragraphs, arranged under nineteen general heads, and comprehend a variety of statements, or rather disquisitions, upon the following theological topics: The Holy Scripture and the three Creeds; faith in the Holy Trinity; God's eternal decree and predestination; the creation and government of all things; the fall of man, original sin, and the state of man before justification; Christ, the Mediator of the second Covenant; the communicating of the grace of Christ; justification and faith; sanctification and good works; the service of God;

¹ Ubi sup. 44. He was also Vice-chancellor in the previous year, 1614. Ibid. 49.

² Waterland, Works, II. 346, and Dr Elrington's Life, 290, seqq.

³ Parr, an older biographer of Ussher, implies that the two legislative bodies were convened at the same time, but the Parliament met May 18, 1613, and the convocation did not assemble

till the end of 1614, or the beginning of 1615. Elrington, 39.

⁴ 'Articles of Religion, agreed vpon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the cleargie of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin in the yeare of our Lord God 1615,' &c. They will be found at length in Append. No. VI., printed from a copy of the original edition in Dr Elrington's Life of Ussher, App. iv.

the civil magistrate; our duty towards our neighbours; the Church, and outward ministry of the Gospel; the authority of the Church, General Councils, and bishop of Rome; the state of the Old and New Testament; the Sacraments of the New Testament; Baptism; the Lord's Supper; the state of souls of men after they be departed out of this life, together with the general resurrection and the last judgment.

Many of the Articles, contained in one or other of these divisions, are borrowed from the authorized English series, on corresponding points; some, again, are of a homiletic nature, relating wholly to Christian *duties*; others enter upon speculative questions, such as the fall of angels, and the primeval state of Adam; one absolutely pronounces that the pope is 'the man of sin' and antichrist¹; but the paragraphs which excited the strongest objection² at the time of their first appearance, as well as in later ages, are those which include the Lambeth Articles, or bear upon the controversy out of which those Articles had issued. It is true that they are not incorporated altogether, being dispersed in various portions of the work, and that in the original copy³ there was not the slightest reference to the compilation of 1595; yet the resemblance, with one or two verbal⁴ exceptions, is so manifest and complete, that we cannot possibly mistake the connexion between them⁵.

General
character.

¹ A similar decree had been made just before in a Calvinistic synod at Gappe, Collier, II. 708.

² Mant, I. 385. seqq.

³ Bp Mant's copy had such a reference to each of the nine Articles of the Lambeth series; but it must have been either the London edition of 1629, or that which is appended to Neal's Hist. of the Puritans. See Elrington's Ussher, 44, note (f).

⁴ One of these is important,

for while the Irish Articles (§ 37) affirm that true faith is not extinguished in 'the regenerate,' the fifth of the Lambeth Articles had deliberately avoided this phrase and spoken of 'the elect:' see above, p. 170.

⁵ Some persons, like Heylin, asserted that the whole proceeding was 'a plot of the Calvinians and Sabbatarians of England to make themselves a strong party in Ireland.' See Mant, I. 387.

Amount of
their autho-
rity before
1635.

Referring the reader to an Appendix for the Articles themselves, it is desirable to ascertain the amount of their authority, even with respect to the Irish clergy; and the rather because this question has been lately reopened, and made the ground of a resolute attack upon the two sister Churches. The document (as we have seen) professed to have been sanctioned by the Convocation of Dublin, and a paragraph appended to the original edition, authoritatively decreed as follows: 'If any minister, of what degree or qualitie soeuer he be, shall publikely teach any doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed upon,—if, after due admonition, he doe not conforme himselfe and cease to disturbe the peace of the Church, let him bee silenced and depriued of all spirituall promotions he doth enjoy.'

Doubts on
this subject.

The novelty, however, of the Synod, at least in its present constitution, and the informalities which may be traced in some of its proceedings¹, appear to have excited considerable doubts at the time of their publication, as to the ecclesiastical authority of the Dublin Articles; for we find Dr Bernard, one of the biographers of Ussher, himself strongly tinged with Calvinian notions, and a uniform admirer of the Articles, under the necessity of meeting this prevalent objection, and of asserting, on the verbal testimony of his patron, that the Formulary was actually signed 'by archbishop Jones, the president of Convocation, by the prolocutor of the lower House, in the name of the whole clergy, and also by the Lord Deputy, by order of James I.'² Although part of this evidence

¹ Elrington's Ussher, 39, 40.

² Bernard's Life of Ussher, 50. Collier endeavours to explain the motives of the English monarch in confirming so many Articles at variance with his own opinions, II. 708. Compare Heylin, Hist. Quinqu-Artic. Part III. ch. xxii. § 5: but

the solution of Wood, (in Dr Elrington's Ussher, 47, 48,) is far more probable. Archdeacon Stopford discredits the testimony of Bernard, suspecting that the deputy never signed the Articles at all, and contending, that if he did, such an indirect exercise of the supremacy was invalid.

has been discredited, perhaps with sufficient justice, it cannot be altogether set aside; and, accordingly, while we may assume that the Articles were destitute of parliamentary sanction, and could not therefore be *legally* enforced, we are bound to admit, that there is not *enough* ground¹ for disputing their formal acceptance by the Church, in some kind of synodical meeting.

Whether or no they were originally offered for *subscription*, like our own Articles, after the convocation of 1571, and whether the Church ever authorized any of her prelates to exact this subscription from the clergy,—are altogether different questions, and such as it is not easy to determine either in one way or the other. The view which is most satisfactorily established² supposes that where individual bishops made use of the Articles as a positive test of doctrine, they were exceeding the power which had been determined by the language of the Synod; for the decree appended to the document itself betrays no wish to impose the Articles *absolutely* on the Church, either by the agency of subscription or any other apparatus.

Were the bishops empowered to demand subscription?

Introduction to Vol. III. of the MS. Irish Prayer Book, LXIII. ed. E. H. S. But the following extract from an anti-Arminian pamphlet of 1633, entitled 'The Truth of three Things,' &c. indicates that the royal sanction of them was generally believed: 'I may adde hereunto the doctrine of the Articles of the Church of Ireland, which fitly may here be inserted, as both looking to King James, *under whose authority and protection it came forth*, and was maintained, and looking to the doctrine of the Church of England, since it were an intollerable and impudent iniury to the wisdom and religious knowledge of these

times, to say that betweene them there was not a harmonie,' 29, 30. The pamphlet, however, is full of special-pleading.

¹ All the evidence against the *legitimate* adoption of the Articles has been ably stated in the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Journal,' No. 118, pp. 66, 67.

² In this way only can we give a satisfactory explanation of the language employed in 1634 by Strafford, Laud, and Bramhall. They all speak as if the Irish Articles needed confirmation, and imply that the Puritan party were fully aware of the defect. See Archdeacon Stopford, *ubi sup.* LXIII, LXIV.

It declares, indeed, that whoever shall teach what is *contrary to them* shall be silenced and deposed, in imitation, it would seem, of the order which had accompanied the Lambeth propositions; yet unlike the authorized determinations of the Church in 1562, they had no more than a *negative* force, and must have acted rather as Articles of discipline and peace than as a public Formulary of Faith.

Proceedings
in 1634 and
1635.

But whatever be the amount of authority which they exercised from 1615 to 1635, they were virtually, if not formally, abolished by the Convocation of this latter date. The leanings of the Irish Church in the direction of Geneva were now considerably adjusted, and with men like Strafford and Bramhall presiding in her counsels, it was natural to expect that a fresh effort would be made to remove every obstacle in the way of her cordial agreement with the English. Strafford, in his character of Deputy, had submitted a plan for this entire assimilation as early as 1634; and Laud¹, with the consent of his royal master, at once adopted the proposal, and urged its immediate execution. It was accordingly submitted to the Irish Convocation of 1635, and by the powerful advocacy of Bramhall, the following Canon was accepted, with a single dissentient voice²: 'For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops and the whole clergy in the Convocation

English
Articles
accepted.

¹ In writing to Strafford, Oct. 20, 1634, he says 'I knew how you would find my Lord Primate [*i. e.* Ussher] affected to the Articles of Ireland; but I am glad the trouble that hath been in it will end there, without advertising of it over to us. And whereas you propose to have the *Articles of England* received *in ipsissimis verbis*, and

leave the other as no way concerned, *neither affirmed nor denied*, you are certainly in the right, and so says the King, to whom I imparted it, as well as I. Go, hold close, and you will do a great service in it.' Strafford, Letters, I. 329: cf. Bramhall's Works, v. 80, and notes; Oxf. 1845.

² Mant, I. 491.

holden at London, in the year of our Lord, 1562, &c. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm that any of these Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a public recantation of his error.'

No doubt can, therefore, exist as to the formal adoption of the English Articles by the whole of the sister Church; but it has always been warmly disputed whether the fact of such an approbation has absolutely repealed the Dublin Articles. It is probable that the original promoters regarded the Canon of 1635 from very different points of view. Ussher, who was still unweaned from his Calvinistic tenets, though at this time the intimate friend of Laud, has left his own opinion of the case in the following extract from a letter addressed to Dr Ward: 'The Articles of Religion agreed upon in our former synod, anno 1615, *we let stand* as we did before. But for the manifesting of our agreement with the Church of England, we have received and approved your Articles, also concluded in the year 1562, as you may see in the first of our Canons¹.' On the other hand, it is clear that both Strafford and Bramhall anticipated the abrogation of the Irish Articles as the result of the present measure: the former actually expressing his intention 'to silence them without noise²,' and the latter hoping to 'take away that Shibboleth which made the Irish Church lisp too undecently, or rather, in some little degree, to speak the speech of Ashdod, and not the language of Canaan³.' Heylin has indeed asserted that the Dublin Articles were actually 'called in⁴;' but there is no sufficient proof that any order was given pro-

Were the
Dublin
Articles
repealed by
this act?

¹ Elrington's Life, 176.

² Strafford, Letters, Dec. 16, 1634, I. 342: cf. Neal, Puritans, II. 107, ed. 1733.

³ Mant, I. 493, and Bp Taylor's Sermon upon the Lord Primate

[Bramhall]: Works, VIII. 411, 412, ed. Eden.

⁴ Life of Laud, Part II. 271—274: Hist. of the Sabbath, Part II. c. VIII. § 9.

Failure of
the attempt
to circulate
both series
with author-
ity.

The Irish
Articles
virtually
withdrawn.

hibiting the use of them by individual bishops, and the practice of Ussher himself¹ in requiring subscription to *both* the series would lead to the conclusion that they were still in some degree permitted. The attempt, however, rising out of the predilection of the Primate, to retain them by the vote of the Synod, as a co-ordinate authority² in the Irish Church, was strongly discountenanced by the Deputy, and ultimately abandoned; so that however much of forbearance may have been exercised in abstaining from a direct repudiation of those Articles, they were in truth tacitly withdrawn, together with a Canon of the same period, which deliberately strove to set them on a level with the authorized English Articles. Whatever may have been the precise nature of their claims during the interval which elapsed between the two Convocations of 1615 and 1635, they were henceforth in the condition of a will, in which the latest declaration has the force of overruling the earlier provisions, so far at least as they may seem to have worn a somewhat different aspect, or to have been capable of a contrary meaning³. Accordingly, after the Rebellion, in which most of the remaining Puritanism of Ireland had been tempered or exploded⁴, no further instance

¹ Elrington's Life, 176 : cf. a letter of Laud to Ussher, May 10, 1635 ; Ussher's Works, xvi. 7, 8.

² This appears from the draft of the following canon proposed in the Convocation, but withdrawn through the influence of Strafford: 'Those which shall affirm any of the Articles agreed on by the clergy of Ireland at Dublin, 1615, or any of the 39 concluded of in the Convocation at London, 1562, and received by the Convocation at Dublin, 1634, to be in any part superstitious, or such as may not with a good conscience be received and allowed, shall be excom-

municated and not restored but only by the Archbishop.' Pref. to Vol. III. of 'MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland,' E. H. S. cxviii. The note of Strafford is remarkable as indicating some defect in the authority of the Articles of 1615: 'It would be considered here whether these Articles of Dublin, 1615, agree substantially with those of London, or *confirmed equally by the King's authority*: else I see no reason of establishing them under one penalty.'

³ See Collier's observation to this effect, II. 763.

⁴ It is well observed by a

occurs of a desire to enforce subscription to the Dublin Articles on the part of a single prelate. The English have alone been regarded as the preliminary test of doctrine on admission into holy orders¹, and long before the civil enactment at the opening of the present century the two sister Churches, upon opposite sides of the Channel, were constituted by ecclesiastical usage the *united* Church of England and Ireland.

writer in the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Journal' for June, 1850, that notwithstanding the strength of feeling at this period, in Ireland as elsewhere, against every thing 'Genevan,' the Dublin Articles of 1615 were unnoticed by the

Convocation (from 1661 to 1665); which is a strong proof that they were considered as no longer possessed of the slightest authority or obligation.

¹ Elrington's Ussher, 177.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SYNOD OF DORT AND THE ROYAL
DECLARATION.

State of the
Quinquar-
ticular con-
troversy, in
the reign of
James I.

AFTER the failure of the vehement effort to fasten the Lambeth Articles on the Church of England, the zeal which had prompted their compilation appears to have gradually subsided. The Calvinistic party now found themselves everywhere confronted by a host of formidable opponents¹, while many of their own champions had fallen back into silence and neutrality, or had altogether left their ranks². Some, it is true, including men the most highly gifted of their times, continued to combine their acquiescence in the more rigorous of the Genevan doctrines with a pure and unflinching attachment to the Formularies of the Church; but, generally speaking, the extreme or supra-lapsarian Calvinist took the side of the disciplinary 'Precisians,' whose horror of 'the cap, the tippet, and the surplice' had driven them, under the guidance of Cartwright, to a more congenial platform³.

¹ See Bp Young's remark at the time of Laud's ordination, in Le Bas, *Life of Laud*, 6. The following order of the King to the Universities in 1616, conducted to the same result: 'That young students in divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England, and incited to bestow their time on the Fathers and Councils, schoolmen, histories and controversies, and *not to insist so long upon compendiums and abbreviations*, making them the grounds of their divinity.'

Wilkins, iv. 459.

² *e. g.* Dr Thomas Jackson, of whom Prynne says that he 'disgraced his mother the university of Oxford, who grieved for his defection.' Works, i. xi. Oxf. 1844. Hales of Eton abandoned his former opinions with the observation that he 'bade John Calvin good night.' Farin- don's Letter, prefixed to 'Golden Remains.' Lond. 1659. See also Bp Sanderson's remarkable statement of the change of his own mind on this subject. Hammond's Works, i. 669, fol. ed.

³ The first 'conventicle' was

Yet the most cursory perusal of the Jacobean literature will convince us how large and acrimonious was the party, both within and without the Church, who persisted in preaching the 'Divine decrees' as the sum and substance of the Gospel. Shrinking (as many of them now did) from the logical consequences of their system, or, in other words, taking shelter in the *sub-lapsarian* hypothesis, by which the harshness of the older teaching was considerably softened, they still deemed it a part of their sacred duty to denounce the slightest divergence from their ground as Pelagian and even Popish¹. To question the inamissibility of grace, to assert the universality of redemption, to claim any freedom of choice for man as the surviving element of his moral constitution,—suspending his final acceptance on the fruitfulness of his faith, or his use of the talents with which he was entrusted, would infallibly tend to implicate the preacher in long and angry disputations: it was treason against the majesty of Calvin, and a virtual renunciation of the Gospel.

But warm as might be the agitation rising out of domestic causes, it was still further exasperated and inflamed by the growth of a controversy upon the same questions in the republic of the Low Countries.

The rise of
'Arminian-
ism,' 1604.

organized in 1567. Mr Haweis' Sketches, 189.

¹ The Vice-chancellor of Oxford (Dr Robert Abbott) in a Sermon before the University, 1614, made the following onslaught upon Laud, who was then rising into eminence: 'Might not Christ say, what art thou? Romish or English? Papist or Protestant? Or what art thou? A mongrel, or compound of both? A Protestant by ordination, a Papist in point of Free-will, inherent righteousness and the like?' Le Bas, Life of Laud, 25. Carleton, in like manner, denounces Montague as

'running with the Arminians into the depth of Pelagius his poysoned doctrine,' and when the 'Appellant' declares that he has read nothing of the Arminians and utterly repudiates Pelagius, the only answer he obtains from his stern 'Examiner,' is this: 'It seemeth that you are an excellent scholler, that can learne your lesson so perfectly without instructors.' Examination of those things wherein the Author of the late Appeale holdeth the doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians, to be the doctrines of the Church of England, 19, 20: 2nd ed.

Our own Church, as Bp Hall expressed it, began to sicken of the 'Belgic disease,' or the 'five busy Articles¹,' and the preachers to indulge in pathetic warnings against the 'poison' of Arminius. The leader of this formidable attack upon the popular theology was a professor in the university of Leyden, who is said to have abandoned his Calvinistic tenets after reading a production of Perkins, one of the English supra-lapsarians². Appalled, it would seem, by the principles enunciated in that work without the slightest mitigation or reserve, he resorted to the theory of the Divine decrees which had been first adopted by St Ambrose³, regarding it as the best clue for escaping from the subject in which he was entangled, and urging it as the one intelligible way of vindicating the grace of the Almighty, and the freedom of His fallen creatures.

The date of this change in the teaching of Arminius was 1604, and as we might have expected from the age, to which his conclusions were addressed, he was immediately the object of unsparing castigation. Nor did his death in the October of 1609, put an end to the animated strife which he had thus been the instrument of raising. On the contrary, it spread rapidly on all sides, and threatened to absorb into the Arminian party the learning and intelligence of Holland. Among the rest who contributed to extend it more especially were Episcopius and Uytenbogaert⁴, the one by the agency of the press, the other of the pulpit. They were aided also by the countenance of Grotius and of Olden-Barneveld (the land-syndicus of Holland): but the co-

¹ "Men, brethren, fathers, help. Who sees not a dangerous fire kindling in our Church, by these five fatal brands? which, if they be not speedily quenched, threatens a furious eruption, and shall too late die in our ashes." Bp Hall, *Via Media*, Works, x. 479. Oxf. 1837.

² William Perkins, *Armilla*

Aurea (see above, p. 161). The animadversions of Arminius are entitled '*Examen Prædestinationis Perkinsianæ*.'

³ See Mosheim, II. 93, and the '*Confessio sententiæ Pastorum, qui in fœderato Belgio Remonstrantes vocantur*,' 31. Herdewic. 1622.

⁴ Guerike, *Kircheng.* II. 519.

operation of these eminent statesmen had eventually the effect of associating the principles of Arminius with a large political combination who were bent on resisting the authority, which the revolution had conferred on the leading House of Orange. On this account, while some of the provincial states were the ardent patrons of the sect, it had to encounter the hostility of Prince Maurice, and the rest of the Dutch republic¹.

In order to avert the indignation of the party who were thus wielding the civil sword, and threatening to use it in behalf of the Calvinistic dogmas, the school which had accepted the teaching of Arminius resolved to present a declaration of their tenets, at a general assembly of the States, in 1610. This document was due to Episcopius and his colleague, and the title which it bore (the *Remonstrance*), has suggested the future appellation of the sect. It consisted of five Articles², touching predestination, the extent of Christ's death, man's free-will and corruption, the manner of our conversion to God, and the perseverance of the saints; but so far from conciliating its opponents, either political or religious, it led, after a stormy interval of eight years³, to the calling of the Synod of Dort.

The 'Remonstrance,' 1610.

The grand object of this meeting was the condemnation⁴ of the tenets embraced in the 'Remon-

The Synod of Dort, 1618.

¹ Miller, *Philosophy of Hist.* III. 192, 193. 3rd ed.

² See *Acta Synod. Dordrecht.* Part III. ed. 1620, for the Articles and also for the Judgments of the Divines upon each thesis in succession.

³ During this interval (1611) a public disputation had taken place at the Hague between the Remonstrants and the Contra-Remonstrants, but no concession having been made by either party and the toleration of the

Prince of Orange being exhausted, he imprisoned Grotius and Olden-Barneveld. Collier, II. 716. The latter was afterwards beheaded, in 1619. Guerike, II. 521.

⁴ It has even been alleged that an oath was taken by the delegates, to proceed in this arbitrary manner, but Fuller has shewn satisfactorily with regard to the English divines at least, that no such obligation was imposed. *Church Hist. Book. XI. Sect. II. §§ 14, 15.* In fact, the

strance,' so that the cause of the Arminians was in fact decided before it was at all examined. Towards the end of November, 1618, sixty-one¹ of the Dutch divines, comprising thirty-six ministers, five professors, and twenty elders, had assembled at the town of Dort to welcome the arrival of twenty-eight foreign coadjutors, who had been invited to the synod from various European states, for the purpose of lending additional weight to its conclusions, but without the power of exercising any vote in the determination of the schism.

Patronized
by James I.,

Among the rest who contributed to the respectability of the proceedings was James I. of England; whose motives in thus furthering the triumphs of Geneva have given rise to a number of conjectures. The bitterness which he had shewn in opposing the doctrine² as well as the discipline of the Non-Conformists at the Hampton-Court Conference of 1604, and the patronage which he afterwards lavished upon Montague³ and the sturdiest adversaries of Calvin, would imply that his own leanings were not in the direction of the principles so fearlessly asserted at this synod: and yet his denunciations of Vorstius⁴ who had succeeded to the theological chair of Leyden, include the very strongest censure of Arminius and some of the principles of his school. It is probable that the reasons by which James had been swayed in acceding to the wishes of the Belgic states, were partly theological and partly political. The reprehensible speculations of Vorstius⁵ had led him to infer that Arminius,

foreign deputies had no votes, and therefore might not be called upon to take the oath administered to the others.

¹ Kerroux, *Abrégé de l'Hist. de la Hollande*, II. 500, 501, (quoted by Miller), makes the number sixty-four.

² See Dr Cardwell's *Hist. of Conf.* 180, seqq.

³ The famous 'Appello Cæ-

sarem,' (1624) was approved by James and immediately licensed with the declaration 'that there was nothing contained in it but what was agreeable to the public faith, doctrine and discipline established in the Church of England.'

⁴ Heylin, *Hist. Quinqu-Artic.* Part III. ch. XXII. § 8.

⁵ He had seemed to call in

the favourite of the same body, was similarly tainted by heretical notions; or at least that his teaching had some kind of tendency to unworthy ideas of the Divine Being: while, on the other hand, the intimate friendship subsisting between James and the Prince of Orange impelled him to assist in the depression of a party, who, by the admixture of the political elements to which we have before adverted, had become in a great degree identified with the opposition to that house.

But in what way soever the English monarch was incited, whether by the strength of these causes, or of others which have been suggested by different writers¹, he answered the earnest solicitations of the States by sending a private deputation² of divines to the national synod of Dort. These were George Carleton, bishop of Llandaff, afterwards of Chichester; Joseph Hall, at that time dean of Worcester, and afterwards the distinguished bishop of Exeter and Norwich; John Davenant, Margaret Professor at Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury; and Samuel Ward, master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and archdeacon of Taunton³. With the exception of Carleton, who was always reputed a most rigid Calvinist, these divines may be classed with the more moderate of the party who opposed the system of Arminius, and with respect to the benefits of infant baptism, or the actual reception of grace by many, who did not afterwards persevere⁴, the opinions of

who sends
a deputation
of Divines.

Their character,

question the absolute perfections of the Divine attributes. Ibid.

¹ Collier, II. 716.

² 'Whatever this synod may signify in some place we have nothing to do with it. The English that appeared there were no other than four court-divines; their commission and instruction were only from the King... they had no delegation from the bishops and by con-

sequence were no representatives of the British Church.' Ibid. 718.

³ They were joined in the following month by Walter Balcanqual, a Scotchman, who was also the bearer of credentials from King James. Collier, II. 717. Hales's Letters from the Synod of Dort, 44. ed. 1659.

⁴ Dr Ward in writing to Archbp Ussher, (May 25, 1630),

and instructions.

Ward and Davenant had been drawn exclusively from Hippo, in contradistinction to Geneva. They were on this account well fitted to carry out the intention of the King, by advocating those principles in the synod, which might 'tend to the mitigation of the heat on both sides,' and dissuade the Contra-remonstrants in particular from 'delivering in the pulpit to the people those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools¹.' It is moreover asserted that the King instructed them to lay special emphasis upon the doctrine of universal redemption, —a tenet which 'pursued in its just consequences is sufficient to overthrow the whole Calvinian system of the five points².'

asserts that the efficacy of baptism in infants had been discussed by Davenant and himself at Dort, when they signified their judgment *that the case of infants was not appertaining to the question of Perseverance*. Ussher's Works, xv. 504. ed. Elrington. See also Ward's 'Determinations Theologicæ,' 44. seqq. Lond. 1658, and Bedford's 'Vindiciæ Gratiae Sacramentalis,' to which a Letter of Davenant is prefixed relating to the same question. These works together with Ward's 'Vindication,' which Ussher, his bosom-friend, published after his death, demonstrate that a belief in the regeneration of all infants (as distinguished from their final perseverance) was deemed in no way incompatible with the strongest denial of the Arminian theory of decrees. See below, note (2), and compare Ussher's Works, xv. 505—520.

¹ See the Royal Instructions, in Collier, II. 716.

² Dr Waterland, Works II. 348. Oxf. 1843. This question was first handled by Balcanqual, the Scotch deputy of King James, (Hales, Letters, 74), and from his own correspondence (Ibid. 2) we learn that Davenant and Ward agreed in maintaining that 'Christ died for *all particular men*,' while Carleton and Goade persisted in the belief that He died 'only for the elect, who consist of all sorts of men.' The Calvinistic limitation prevailed for a while (Ibid. 4); but the following extract from a subsequent letter of the same divine, April $\frac{4}{14}$, implies that the English theologians had afterwards returned to the question: 'The deputies appointed by the synod have taken pains, I must needs confess, to give our Colledge all satisfaction; *besides the second Article* [on the extent of Christ's death], some of our Colledge have been earnest to have this proposition out: "Infideles damnabuntur non solum

On the arrival of the deputies at Dort the business of the meeting was begun, though the representatives of Arminianism did not arrive till the fourth of the following month¹. The president, elected at the outset, was Bogermann, one of the sternest of the Contra-remonstrant party, who had openly stated his opinion that all who refused the Calvinistic dogmas should be punished by the civil sword². The assessors and secretaries who were appointed at his wish, had been trained in the same rigid school, so that when Episcopius and his party saluted the synod at the meeting of December the 7th, it was not difficult to foresee that the cause which they expressed themselves willing to defend, had been virtually predetermined. If any doubts existed on this point, they were dispelled by a circumstance which happened on the morrow; for two of the Arminian deputies from Utrecht, who had taken their places with the other members of the synod, were now ordered to renounce that character, and to associate in future with the thirteen others who had been formally *cited*³ as delinquents. In vain did Episcopius urge them to discuss the controverted questions publicly and *seriatim*: his appeal to 'the Scriptures and to solid reason⁴,' was met

Proceedings
of the Synod.

ob infidelitatem, sed etiam ob omnia alia peccata sua tam originale quam actualia:" because they say that from thence may be inferred *that original sin is not remitted to all who are baptized*, which opinion hath been by more then one council condemned as heretical: *They have, therefore, at their request put it out,* 34: cf. *Sententia Theologorum Magnæ Britanniae de Articulo secundo, Acta Synod. Dordrecht. Part II. 100—106.*

¹ John Hales, who was an eye-witness of the proceedings

for three months, writes (Dec. 6, 1618, *stylo novo*): 'The armies have been in sight one of another and have had some parley.' Letters, 23.

² He had before this time translated into Dutch the notorious Treatise of Beza, 'De Hæreticis a civili magistratu puniendis.'

³ Hales, *ubi sup.* 26. seqq. A third deputy from Utrecht, 'professed to submit himself to the judgment of the synod, if they shall decide according to his conscience,' 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* 39. It was conceded

Expulsion of
the Armin-
ians.

Moderation
of the
English.

by a demand of the president for unquestioning submission to the terms imposed by himself and the synod, and when the Remonstrants with an air of defiance protested against an authority which they deemed imperious and unjust, they were eventually dismissed the assembly, deprived of their ecclesiastical appointments, and banished out of the territory of the Dutch republic. How sad must have been the feelings which this spectacle excited in the breast of the future Bp Hall! He did not however stay to see the end of the proceedings¹, for the failure of his health induced him to solicit a recall from his royal master, and his place was very speedily supplied by Dr Thomas Goade, who had distinguished himself as one of the prosecutors of Barrett more than twenty years before. Time had in some measure softened the acerbity of his spirit, and it is satisfactory to observe that throughout the whole course of the discussions, from the opening of the synod to its close, the conduct of the English theologians, more especially of Davenant and Ward, was always on the side of Christian moderation, as well as of Christian truth. When they finally returned to their own country² in April, 1619, they left a salutary

by the synod that the Remonstrants might propose their doubts both in the question of election and of reprobation, but must not venture to make any suggestion as to the best mode of proceeding, 47. 'An absolute liberty of going as far as they list in oppugning before the synod what opinions they pleased of learned men, this was thought unfit,' 48, 52.

¹ He had preached in the 16th Session of the Synod (Nov. 29) what Hales described (p. 10) as 'a polite and pathetic Latine sermon,' urging

among other means of reconciliation a full discussion of Rom. ix. by the two contending parties: 'Agite ergo, viri iudices, si me auditis, jubete, ut pars utraque litigantium, brevem, claram, apertamque sine fuco sine ambagibus, illius loci paraphrasin, sancta Synodo, fraterna manu, exhibeat.' Acta Synodi Dordrecht. 46.

² Balcanqual's last letter is dated '25 of April stylo loci.' The Synod itself closed May 9, 1619, with the 154th Session. Guerike, II. 522.

admonition in the ears of their over-zealous colleagues: Their parting advice.
‘If questions happen to arise which the reformed Churches have not hitherto decided, and if they are discussed by learned and holy men, without any detriment to the faith, it is not seemly in grave and moderate divines to obtrude upon all others their own way of thinking. In such a case all is well, provided only the diversity of opinions break not the bond of peace among the clergy, nor be the means of disseminating faction. We suggest, moreover, that of those things which are established on the sure foundation of the Word of God, there are some, which ought not to be promiscuously inculcated upon all, but touched in the proper time and place with tenderness and judgment. One of them is the sublime mystery of predestination, sweet indeed and most full of comfort, but to them who are rooted in the faith, and exercised in holy living; for to such only will it prove an unfailing bulwark in the midst of the grievous struggles of the conscience. But truly when the imprudence of certain preachers exposes this profound inquiry to men who have not learned as they ought the first principles of religion, and whose mind is still rioting in carnal affections, it follows as the necessary consequence that while they dispute on the mysteries of predestination, they are abandoning the salutary Gospel, and while they dream of nothing else but predestination unto life, they enter not on the way everlasting as it is marked out for the predestined. Still greater need of caution is there in approaching the mystery of reprobation, not only that it may be handled sparingly and prudently, but also that in the expounding of it the horrible and unscriptural opinions be avoided which lead rather to desperation than to the edification of the people, and which are now one of the most grievous scandals in some of the reformed Churches. Finally, let us so think of the most precious merit of Christ’s death that we spurn not the opinions of the Early Church, nor the Confessions of the Reformed Communion, and what is of the highest moment,

that we never weaken the promises of the Gospel universally propounded in the Church¹.

Fresh outbreak of the Quinquarticular disputes in England.

It would have been well for our own country, as for others, if the controversialists had hearkened to this sober counsel, and instead of pursuing their speculations on the nature of the Divine decrees, had turned to that aspect of religion immediately bearing upon man. But in spite of the earnest efforts of a small conciliatory band, the return of the deputies from Dort was the signal for a still deeper agitation of the topics there disputed. 'Already do we see the sky blacken,' was the language of Bishop Hall², (himself one of the few mediators); 'we hear the winds whistle hollow afar off, and feel all the presages of a tempest, which the late example of our neighbours bids us fear.' A growing school of the English theologians had warmly espoused the tenets of Arminius, and gave vent to their unmeasured condemnation of the synod in which his system was proscribed; the rest were even louder in their praises of the Calvinistic party, and though happily restrained from the deeds of bloodshed which had accompanied the suppression of the Dutch Remonstrants, it is impossible to exaggerate the ferocity of the zeal which they now breathed in every quarter.

The pulpits of the rural district, as well as of the town, were propagating the perturbation of which the Universities were the center. Everywhere, some or other of the 'Five Points' was the text of the fiery preacher, and if he chanced to hold the Calvinistic theory, which was very frequently the case, he stirred up the strongest passions of his audience by associating the system of Arminius with the hated Babylonish harlot³; while the press, vying with the pulpit, was

¹ Suffragium Collegiale Synodo Dordrecht. 103, 104, Lond. 1626.

² Dedication of the 'Via Media.'

³ The House of Commons,

who made their religious discontent a plea for political agitations, were manifesting the same spirit. The following specimen occurs in their remonstrance against the Duke of

inundating the country with a host of publications, which for the coarseness of their tone and the rancour of their spirit are unrivalled even among the sickening annals of the Quinquarticular disputations.

The zeal and vehemence, or, we might almost add, the frenzy, with which these questions were now handled, appear to have at length satisfied the King that his sanction of the recent synod had been the means of calling up a power which, if not speedily allayed, might embody itself in some political agitation, and shake him from his throne. His next step, therefore, was an effort to restrain the contending parties, and with the versatility which may be traced in all his public conduct, he wrote a letter to archbishop Abbot (August 4, 1622), deploring the abuses and extravagances of the pulpit, and charging him to circulate a number of 'Directions concerning Preachers' among all the clergy of his province. One of these, which was obviously intended as a curb on the rampant disputations, was couched in the following terms: 'That no preacher of what title soever, under the degree of a bishop, or dean at least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of God's grace; but leave those themes to be handled by learned men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of use and application, rather than by way of positive doctrine, as being fitter for the schools and universities than for simple auditories¹.'

Attempt of
James I. to
repress them.

Buckingham: 'And as our fear concerning change of subversion of religion is grounded upon the daily increase of papists....so are the hearts of your good subjects no less perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily growth and spreading of the faction of the Arminians, that being, as your majesty well knows, but a cunning way to

bring in popery, and the professors of those opinions, the common disturbers of the protestant churches, and incendiaries in those states wherein they have gotten any head, being protestants in shew, but Jesuites in opinion,' &c. Rushworth, Hist. Collect. i. 621, Lond. 1682.

¹ Wilkins, iv. 465. In the January following, Gabriel Bridges

Similar
attempt of
Charles I.

Proclamation
of 1626:

imperfectly
obeyed.

But notwithstanding the vigilance of the ecclesiastical authorities, who were now as weary as King James of the fruitless¹ agitation, and grieved at the spread of 'indecent railing,' the royal order, in many districts of the island, was continually forgotten, or ignored. When Charles I. succeeded to the throne in 1625, he found the Church of England labouring under the evils which had grown up in the previous reign, spent by unedifying contests, and torn by the factions which were fostered every day by the virulence of party-spirit. He therefore betook himself in earnest to the remedies which had been suggested by his father, and with the help of Laud and some other bishops², drew up the memorable Proclamation of 1626. He began by deploring the prevalence of dissensions, and 'the sharp and indiscreet handling of some of either party,' on the ground that they had 'given much offence to the sober and well-grounded readers, and raised some hopes in the Roman Catholics that by degrees the professors of our religion may be drawn, first to schism, and afterwards to plain popery.' He then signified his disapprobation of all those who, from motives of a different kind, adventured to innovate on the existing usage of the realm, avowing his determination to visit the clergy, whoever they might be, with a severe penalty, if they should raise, publish, or maintain opinions not clearly warranted by the doctrine and discipline of the Church³.

In the Universities and market-towns where this

of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was prosecuted under this order for preaching against the theory of irrespective predestination. Heylin, *Histor. Quinqu-Art.* Part III. ch. XXII. § 10.

¹ Almost the only fruit of it was a daily defection from the Church to popery, anabaptism, or other points of separation in some parts of this kingdom. Abbot's Letter explaining the

above doctrines, Wilkins, 466.

² Their object might be in some measure to deliver Montague from his numberless assailants, among the rest from the House of Commons, who had established a Committee of Religion and undertaken the censorship of the theological press. See Le Bas, *Life of Laud*, 87, 88.

³ Rushworth, I. 412.

edict was immediately put in circulation, it seems to have had the desired effect of silencing the more boisterous polemics, but a number of the unquiet spirits in remoter parts of England, identifying the 'Institutions' of Calvin with the revelations of the holy Bible, were not slow in perceiving that by such a measure their craft was seriously endangered, and their agitations at an end. The mutters of discontent were not long in reaching the ears of Laud, and it was to check the further outbreaks of their zeal, and if possible to guard against the civil commotions which they were soon to be the means of precipitating into the depths of the Great Rebellion¹, that the King was now advised to order a reprint of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and to insist with still greater force on the execution of his recent edict. The document, which rose out of this conference with the bishops², and which has since kept its place in front of our Articles, under the title of 'His Majesty's Declaration,' made its appearance in 1628.

New edition
of the Articles
with the De-
claration pre-
fixed, 1628.

After reminding the people that he was the supreme Governor of the Church, and as such desirous

¹ Many of the divines at that period foresaw the inevitable tendency of the Genevan teaching. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham in 1625 from three of the bishops, it is affirmed 'that they cannot conceive what use there can be of civil government in the commonwealth, or of preaching and external ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions, as some which are opposite and contrary to those delivered by Mr Mountague shall be publicly taught and maintained.' And a yet stronger affirmation of this truth may be seen in a Letter of Dr Brooks, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dec. 15, 1630. Heylin's

Hist. Quinqu-Art. Part II. ch. VI. § 10.

² Prynne, in his *Canterburie's Doome*, has the following observation, after charging archbishop Laud with the intention of establishing Arminianism in England: 'To which end he procured his Majesty by a printed declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, compiled by himself and other bishops, of which the most part were Arminians,' 160: cf. Rushworth, i. 653. That Laud was in reality actuated by 'moderate counsels' and an earnest desire for peace is proved by his private correspondence. Le Bas, *Life*, 128, 129.

Its general
nature.

of repressing unnecessary disputations, he proceeds, with the advice of his bishops, to declare that the Articles of Religion contain true doctrine, and to confirm them by his royal approbation. He then states, in the two following clauses, that differences on the external polity of the Church should be settled by the clergy assembled in Convocation¹, and that from the decisions of this body he will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree. On approaching the dissensions which had 'been ill raised' among the clergy, he expressed his satisfaction that all of them had cordially subscribed the Articles established, and that even in 'those curious points in which the present differences lie,' the disputants were on both sides not unwilling to carry their appeals to that common standard. In respect, therefore, of the questions rising out of the Quinquarticular controversy, he ended by the following order: 'We will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense².'

¹ This clause aroused the special indignation of the puritan, Sir John Elliot: 'And now to the particular in the declaration, we see what is said of popery and Arminianism; our faith and religion is in danger by it, for like an inundation it doth break in at once upon us. It is said, If there be any difference of opinion concerning the seasonable interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, the

bishops and clergy in the convocation have power to dispute it, and to order which way they please, and for aught I know, popery and Arminianism may be introduced by them, and then it must be received by all.' Rushworth, i. 649.

² Wilkins, iv. 475. On Dec. 30, 1629, the king published instructions for causing the contents of the Declaration to be put in execution and punctually

It was not easy to conceive a more sober document than the one above recited, for the clergy were simply required to perform a most obvious duty in abstaining from all attempts to torture the Articles of Religion into non-natural acceptations; yet so crooked was the age to whom this order was addressed, that it served only to embitter and inflame the passions it was anxiously striving to appease¹. A large body of the Calvinistic clergy, in and about London, lost no time in preparing a petition to the King, in which they deprecated the restraints he had imposed upon 'the saving doctrines of God's free grace in election and perseverance.' They alleged that the Declaration had placed them in a most painful dilemma, for that they must henceforward incur the displeasure of the King if they attacked 'the Pelagian and Arminian heresies,' or, on the other hand, must provoke a still heavier indignation by neglecting to make known the whole

Effects of its
circulation.

observed for the time to come. Heylin, ubi sup. Part III. ch. xxii. § 12.

¹ The following passage from a 'Declaration' of the king on the dissolution of parliament (March 10, 1628), is a strong proof of his personal earnestness in this matter: 'Having taken a strict and exact survey of our government, both in the Church and commonwealth, and what things were most fit and necessary to be reformed, We found, in the first place, that much exception had been taken at a book, entitled, *Appello Cæsarem*, or, *An Appeal to Cæsar*, and published in the year 1625, by Richard Montague, then bachelor of Divinity, and now bishop of Chichester; and because it did open the way to those schisms and divisions, which have since ensued in the Church, We did,

for remedy and redress thereof, and for the satisfaction of the consciences of our own good people, not only by our publick proclamation, *call in that book, which ministered matter of offence*; but to prevent the like danger for hereafter, reprinted the Articles of Religion, established in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory; and by a Declaration before those Articles, *We did tie and restrain all opinions to the sense of those Articles*, that nothing might be left to fancies and invocations (? innovations). For we call God to record, before whom we stand, that it is, and always hath been, our heart's desire, to be found worthy of that title, which we account the most glorious in all our crown, *Defender of the Faith*.' Rushworth, I. App. p. 4.

counsel of God¹. In the House of Commons also, where the puritanical party was now predominant, and where it was solemnly averred that the suppression of 'Popery and Arminianism' was the very foremost duty², a debate³ on the royal Declaration had resulted in the following vow: 'We the Commons in parliament assembled do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion which were established by parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the publick act of the Church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuites and Arminians, and all others, wherein they differ from us.'

How fatal these protestations are to the plea that the Articles were manifestly framed on the Calvinistic hypothesis, it is almost needless to remark; for as the royal Declaration did no more than restrict the teaching of the clergy to a plain and literal interpretation of that Formulary, the outcry which was now raised against a principle so clear was the fullest admission of the ground which Montague and the rest had taken, when they urged that the 'Calvinism' of the Articles can be proved by none of the laws which have ordinarily obtained in the construction of legal or of other documents⁴.

¹ Collier, II. 746, 747.

² Rushworth, I. 652.

³ The speeches of Rous and Prynne are full of the most vehement denunciations of Arminianism. Ibid. 645, 647. The latter asserts it to be the duty of a parliament to establish true religion and to punish false, declaring its superiority above

the Convocation of Canterbury, which is but provincial and cannot bind the whole kingdom, and adding, with respect to York, that 'it is distant and cannot do any thing to bind us or the laws.' Ibid. 649, 650.

⁴ See the remarks of Dr Waterland on this subject: Works, II. 350.

CHAPTER X.

OBJECTIONS TO THE ARTICLES AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

THE earliest example of antipathy to the Articles of 1562 was the result of the numerous scruples which began to be urged in the reign of Elizabeth, touching the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Though some of the Puritans were able to reconcile their rejection of 'the defiled robes of Antichrist' with the acceptance of the thirty-fourth article on ecclesiastical 'Traditions¹,' it was felt by the majority as a harsh and unwarranted restriction, which they might piously struggle to remove. Accordingly the bill 'for ministers of the Church to be of sound religion,' which passed in 1571, was so ambiguously worded by its promoters in the house of Commons as to relieve some of the puritanical clergy (at least in their own opinion) from the necessity of subscribing to any other Articles, except those 'which *only* concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments².'

Earliest objection to the Articles, 1562.

Yet even this apparent relaxation did not conciliate the licentiousness of party-spirit, which was now diffusing itself on all sides, among the mass of the English people. The 'Admonitions to the Parliament' in 1572 were bold and acrimonious manifestations of the same growing discontent. Stimulated by an epistle from Beza, which is appended to the first 'Admoni-

The Admonitions to Parliament, 1572,

¹ See above, pp. 111, 112. Some, however, more consistently objected to the Article in question, and as early as the Convocation of 1562, proposed that 'the censure of those who disconform may be softened, and let down to a gentler dis-

like.' Collier, II. 486.

² Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, I. 267, 268, Lond. 1732; Blackburne, Works, v. 23, Camb. 1804, and below, pp. 217—220. The Parliament of 1610 urged this distinction on behalf of the Puritans. Neal, II. 83.

tion,' the Non-conformists began to insist more impatiently than ever upon 'purity of discipline,' understanding, in the first instance, the subversion of the hierarchy, which was regarded as the 'cheefe cause of backwardnesse, and of all breache and dissention¹.' But their zeal was not suffered to expire in its denunciation of the bishops, and of 'antichristian rites.' 'Remoue Homylies, *Articles*, Iniunctions,' was the indiscriminating clamour of the self-same faction, 'and that prescripte Order of seruice made out of the masse-booke².'

opposed to
the doctrine
as well as
discipline
of the Church.

Some writers, indeed, have contended that the Puritans, while agitating for 'their conceived discipline, never moved any quarrel against the *doctrine* of our Church³;' but nothing can be more certain than that the authors of the two Admonitions to Parliament took a very different ground, affirming, with as much of sagacity as of malice, that 'the righte gouvernement of the Church cannot be seperated from the doctrine⁴.' They positively argued that in addition to its ritual deformities, the Prayer-Book was 'full of corruptions⁵,' that in the Ordinal there was at least one paragraph which they never hesitated to condemn as 'manifest blasphemy;' and for this very reason some of them had refused to subscribe in the course of the previous year, when summoned before the high Commissioners. It is true that the Articles of Religion, excepting so far as they involved an approval of the other Formularies of the Church, appear to have been in a less degree obnoxious to the Non-conformists in the reign of Elizabeth. They were sometimes not unwilling to avow⁶, 'For the Articles concerning the substance of doctrine, *using a godly*

The reserve
of the Puri-
tans on ac-
cepting the
Articles.

¹ 'To the godly readers,' A.

² Ibid. A. iiij.

³ Bp Carleton, Examination (of Montague's Appeal), 8, 121, Lond. 1626.

⁴ First Admonition, C.

⁵ Ibid. B. vii.

⁶ See the passage at length and remarks upon it in Whitgift's 'Answer to a certen Libell intituled, "An Admonition to the Parliament,"' Lond. 1573, 298, 299.

interpretation in a poynte or two, which are eyther too sparely or else too darkely set downe, we were and are ready, according to duetie, to subscribe vnto them. But the reserve accompanying this statement may not unreasonably excite our suspicion, that even with respect to the particular document thus arbitrarily chosen for approval, the Puritans had secret misgivings, lest here also they should 'be stoong with the tayle of Antichristian infection.' And on turning to other portions of the same manifestos, there is satisfactory proof that such scruples existed in the authors of the second Admonition. After a severe invective on episcopacy, for its persecuting and intolerant spirit, they proceed to enumerate additional grievances, equally needing reformation: 'I praye you are they not starke naught, yea, and so are diuers of them, not onely for their bribing and corruption, and their arrogancie, their tyrannie, but for flat heresie in the sacrament, and some bee suspected of the heresy of Pelagius. For the first, that is, concerning the sacrament, the bishops are notoriously knowne which erre in it, and for free-will not onely they are suspected, but others also. And in deede *the booke of the Articles of Christian religion* speaketh very daungerously of falling from grace, which is to be reformed, bicause it too much enclineth to their erreure¹.'

Their positive
objection to
Article xvi.

The disaffection implied in language of this kind went on gradually deepening its hold upon the people in proportion as the principles imported from Geneva were more and more consciously developed. In 1587, appeared 'A Defence of the Government established in the Church of England by John Bridges, deane of Sarum,' who is occupied in vindicating the Articles no less than the other Formularies of Faith from the same unquiet spirits. They had ventured to 'speake against diuers grosse and palpable errors that had escaped the bishops,' in the compilation of the Book of Articles²; alleging, it would seem, by way of ex-

Denunciation
of the Articles
in 1587.

¹ Seconde Admonition to the Parliament, A.D. 1572, 43.

² 1301, 1302, Lond. 1587.

Art. VI.

ample¹ a few of the more obnoxious. The first related to the distinction which is drawn in the sixth Article between the Canonical and Apocryphal books, but the cause of their vehement dislike is only matter for conjecture². The second ground of animadversion is the same as we have before noted in the 'Admonitions to the Parliament.' The Puritans argued that

Art. XVI.

the clause of the sixteenth Article which assumed the defectibility of grace was susceptible of an heretical interpretation, if not positively false³. They looked upon the terms 'justified' and 'elect,' as altogether interchangeable, while Bridges who answered their cavils took up a very different position, maintaining that 'diuers graces of the Holy Ghost may bee geuen to those that are not elected⁴,' and consequently that the statement of the Article is in no way at variance with the view of predestination, as held by himself and others of the Augustinian school. A third and more sweeping objection assailed the whole body of the Articles, as the fruit of prelatical or popish domination. According to the Puritanical scheme, they ought to have been severally proved by a number of scriptural texts, whereas now 'they must be accepted of all men, without either reason or testimonie of the Scripture, and no man permitted to shew anye reason or scripture, that inforceth his conscience to the contrary, but onely to hang vppon the authority of bishops⁵.'

General objection.

The Lambeth and Irish Articles confess that the English are un-Calvinistic.

It may seem unfair to associate the growth of this ecclesiastical democracy with the more purely theological movement which agitated the University of Cambridge in 1595: for the Non-conformists who had enlisted under the banner of Cartwright, were loud in denouncing the ritual and hierarchy, which Whitaker and others, who took part in the compilation of the Lambeth Articles, had most cordially accepted. And

¹ Ibid. 1302.

² Bridges says, after guessing for some time, 1304—1308, that he can neither see nor feel 'the

gross and palpable errors.'

³ Ibid. 1308.

⁴ Ibid. 1310.

⁵ Ibid. 1314.

the same is unquestionably true of Ussher and of the members of the Dublin Convocation, who afterwards embodied those Articles into their own national creed, and bound them, in some sort at least, upon the conscience of the Irish clergy. Yet, on the other hand, it cannot be concealed that in these and all similar attempts to impart a distinctly Genevan tone to some of our speculative theology, there is betrayed a certain amount of misgiving on the part of their promoters as to the insufficiency of the present Articles of faith for establishing their cherished notions. Whitaker, as we have seen¹, admitted that the points which he condemned in the teaching of Barrett 'were not concluded and defined by public authority,' and a like feeling must have actuated the Irish prelates in departing so far from the English standard, where it seems to fall short of the system of Calvin. Nor is this mode of explaining their conduct to be viewed as a mere conjecture. The wavering voice of the Articles was deliberately confessed at the Hampton-Court Conference in 160 $\frac{3}{4}$, when the Puritans prayed by their representative Reynolds, himself the unhesitating champion of Geneva, that 'the nine assertions orthodoxal, *concluded upon at Lambeth*, might be inserted into the Book of Articles²,'—a motion which was however strenuously refused on the ground that when such questions might chance to be disputed in the schools, it was desirable to determine them in those seats of learning, and 'not to stuff the Book with all conclusions theological³.'

Objections at
the Hampton-
Court Con-
ference, 1604.

It is indeed very observable that the Non-conformists were still complaining with the greatest warmth 'of the errors and imperfections of the Church, as well *in matter of doctrine* as of discipline⁴,' and at the Conference, which had been summoned with a view to moderate their scruples, it was specified among the list of grievances submitted by Dr Reynolds, that 'the

¹ See above, p. 163, note (3). 166. ferences, 178, Oxf. 1841.

³ Ibid. 185.

² Dr Cardwell, Hist. of Con-

⁴ Ibid. 225.

Obj. to
Art. XVI.

Bancroft's
answer.

Book of Articles of Religion, concluded in 1562, might be explained in places obscure, and enlarged where some things were defective. For example, whereas Article XVI. the words are these; *After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace; notwithstanding the meaning be sound, yet he desired, that, because they may seem to be contrary to the doctrine of God's predestination and election in the seventeenth Article, both these words might be explained with this or the like addition; yet neither totally nor finally*¹. In the answer of Bp Bancroft, which is of some historical importance, it was stated that 'very many in these daies, neglecting holinesse of life, presumed too much of persisting of grace, laying all their religion upon predestination, *If I shall be saved, I shall be saved*; which he termed a desperate doctrine, shewing it to be contrary to good divinity, and the true doctrine of predestination, wherein we should reason rather *ascendendo* than *descendendo*.' He then pointed to the teaching of the Church of England in the final clause of Art. XVII, admonishing us to receive God's promises in such wise as they be *generally* set forth to us in holy Scripture².

¹ Ibid. 178. The same deepening objection to the Articles is seen in an 'Apology of the Lincolnshire Ministers' in 1604, (Neal, II. 55), who affirmed that the Book of Articles as well as of Common-Prayer, 'contained sundry things which are not agreeable, but contrary to the Word of God.'

² Ibid. 180, 181. Overall (dean of St Paul's) entered into the same question (186), reaffirming a statement he had made during the discussion of the Lambeth Articles, to the effect that 'whosoever (although before justified) did commit any

grievous sin did become, ipso facto, subject to God's wrath, and guilty of damnation until they repented.' His opponents, who adopted the rigorously-Calvinistic tenet, had maintained the absolute indefectibility of grace, believing that all persons who were once truly justified, though afterwards guilty of the most grievous sins, 'remained still just, or in a state of justification, before they actually repented of those sins.' See Overall's *Sententia Eccl. Anglican. de Prædestinatione*, etc. 'Articuli Lambethani,' 41, seqq. Lond. 1651.

A second objection¹ of the puritan representatives, Obj. to Art. xxiii. was based upon the wording of Art. XXIII, 'in the congregation,' as if it implied that all men might preach and administer the sacraments *out* of the congregation, without any lawful mission. This, however, was one of the merest cavils, for the term congregation is clearly equivalent to the *Church* in its widest acceptation, and 'by the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, none but a licenced minister might preach, nor either publikely or privately administer the Eucharist².'

A third objection related to the language of Art. Obj. to Art. xxv. XXV, in which confirmation seems to be characterized as a rite that had 'grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles;' whereas in the proper Service it is said to be administered 'after the example of the Apostles³.' According to Bancroft, the discrepancy should be solved by supposing that while the Article has respect to the undue elevation of the ordinance in ranking it with the two 'sacraments of the Gospel,' the Prayer Book 'aims at the right use and proper course thereof.'

A further emendation was proposed in Article Proposed addition to Art. xxxvii. XXXVII, by adding to the clause 'The bishop of Rome hath no authority in this land,' the words 'nor ought to have;' but such an addition was declared to be redundant, and when Dr Reynolds proceeded to suggest that a phrase, denying the intention of the minister to be of the essence of the sacrament, should be annexed to the book of Articles as a remedy against some prevalent error, it was in like manner summarily dismissed, and the Formulary left in the shape it had presented from the time of the Convocation of 1571⁴.

¹ Hist. of Conferences, 179.

² See Bancroft's Answer, Ib. 181.

³ Ibid. 179.

⁴ In 'A Note of such thinges as shal be reformed in the Church' (Strype's Whitgift, 575) drawn up, it would seem, at the

close of the Conference, we find the following minute: 'The Articles of Religion *to be explained and inlarged*. And no man to teach or read against anie of them.' The hand-writing is thought to be Bancroft's, but

Proceedings
in the 'As-
sembly of
Divines,' 1643,

But an attempt, which threatened to be far more successful, was made in 1643, by the party who had uniformly expressed their antipathy to some of the authorised Articles, and who were now, for the first time, invested with the power to carry out their wishes. At an early session of the 'Assembly of Divines,' they received an order from both Houses of Parliament (July 5, 1643), requiring them to take into their consideration the first *ten* of the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England, 'to free and vindicate the doctrine of them from all aspersions and false interpretations¹.' A second list of instructions from the same quarter extended the authority of the Assembly to the *nine* Articles following, and these also were afterwards submitted to a close and elaborate censure. The orders, however, had been limited in both cases to 'the clearing and vindicating' of the Articles, and accordingly the Divines, in their report to the House of Commons, felt it their duty to acknowledge that, notwithstanding the additions and alterations they had thought proper to insert, very many things continued to be 'defective,' and 'other expressions also fit to be changed.' At the time when their work was interrupted by a fresh order, bearing date Oct. 12, 1643, *fifteen* of the Articles had been thus 'sparingly' revised; but no further progress appears to have been made either at this or any subsequent period². Their services were bestowed, in the first instance, on 'the work of Church-Government,' and afterwards in framing the memorable 'Confession for the three king-

who revised
fifteen of the
Articles.

it is not probable, after reading his speeches at the Conference, that he was willing to make any change whatever.

¹ From one of 'six hundred copies of the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines upon the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England,' printed 'for the services of both houses and the Assembly of Divines' (Camb.

University Lib. Ff. 14, 25). The Articles are signed by 'Charles Herle, prolocutor, Henry Borough, Scriba, Adoniram Byfield, Scriba.'

² We learn from a pamphlet (Lond. 1654) that the revised Articles, which are called 'Fourteen Pillars of the Church of England,' were presented to Charles I. at the Isle of Wight.

doms, according to the solemn League and Covenant.' It seems indeed to have been their own wish to throw the Articles entirely aside, 'as a piece several ways imperfect, and the whole as *relating onely to the Church of England*,' but an order from the House of Commons, Dec. 7, 1646, commanded them to present the result of their criticism to their parliamentary employers; and to this circumstance we are probably indebted for its preservation to our own times¹.

The design of this revision, in the language of Neal², 'was to render the sense of the Articles *more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism*.' And a cursory examination of the phraseology adopted in the new series of definitions, will leave no doubt as to the kind of influence which presided over that second reformation of the Church. The first, second³, fourth⁴, fifth, twelfth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, as we might expect from their character and purport, were left as they stood before, or altered only in such a manner as

Nature of the changes.

¹ Above, 208, note (1). A few hints on this subject will be found in Lightfoot's 'Journal of the Assembly of Divines,' Works, XIII. 5. seqq. ed. Pitman. On July 12, there was a great debate as to the propriety of adducing Scriptural proofs for each Article according to a wish expressed by the Elizabethan Non-conformists. See above, p. 204. This was carried in the affirmative, 5. On July 15, Selden and others who had been appointed to search for authentic copies of the Articles, made their report to the Assembly, 6. On July 28, the third Article excited much discussion, some proposing that it should be altogether withdrawn, 7. The three Creeds were considered, Aug. 18, and after a long agitation about

translating them anew, and about 'setting some gloss upon the preface and conclusion of Athanasius' Creed, which seems to be something harsh,' the question was deferred till some future time, 10. It appears that the Divines were 'very busy upon the sixteenth Article and upon that clause of it which mentioneth departing from grace,' 17, when the work was finally suspended by the parliamentary order.

² III. 68.

³ In the new Article, 'for our sakes truly suffered most grievous torments in his soul from God' = 'truly suffered' in the authorized Article.

⁴ 'At the general resurrection of the body at the last day' = 'at the last day.'

to indicate but little of the ruling spirit. Of the rest, the *third* of the new series interprets the 'descent into Hell' as equivalent to 'continuing in the state of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death.' The *sixth* omits all mention of the testimony of the Church in determining the canon of Scripture; it eliminates the Apocrypha altogether; it adds a list of the New Testament canon: and also substitutes for the canonicity of the sacred books the fact of their *inspiration*, as the ground of our deference to their teaching. The *seventh* adds one clause, implying that even the civil precepts of Moses should be urged upon Christians, provided they be not such as were peculiarly meant for the commonwealth of the Jews¹; and a second, affirming that by the 'moral law' we understand all the Ten Commandments taken in their full extent². The *eighth*, on the Creeds, was finally accepted, with the proviso that they should be retranslated, and explained in an Appendix to the contemplated edition of the Articles³. The *ninth*, on Original Sin, bears the special impress of Geneva: (1) the divines insert that original sin consists of the 'first sin imputed,' as well as of inherent corruption; (2) that man is not only 'very far gone from original righteousness,' but 'wholly deprived' of it; (3) that he is of his own nature inclined *only* to evil; (4) they substitute 'regenerate' for 'baptized;' and (5) affirm that concupiscence 'is truly and properly sin.' The *tenth*, 'Of Free-will,' interpolates a clause, which describes 'the preventing grace' of God as 'working so effectually in us, as that it *determineth* our will to that which

¹ This clause is somewhat illustrated by the fact that during the Protectorate of Cromwell, there was a party who laboured to bring about the abolition of the whole law of England, and to substitute the Mosaic in its place. Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, III. 88.

² The force of this language is felt by comparing the scruples of Chillingworth, who maintained that the fourth commandment was no part of the moral law, and did not appertain to Christians. See the *Life* prefixed to his *Works*, ed. 1820, p. 16.

³ See above, p. 210, note (1).

is good.' The *eleventh*, 'Of the justification of man (before God),' in explaining the mode of our acquittal declares that the 'whole obedience and satisfaction' of our Saviour 'is by God imputed unto us, and Christ with His righteousness apprehended and rested on by faith only:' while the *thirteenth* changes the expression 'works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit' into 'works done before justification by Christ and regeneration by His Spirit.'

One member of the self-constituted synod which undertook this revision of the Articles, and one of the clerical assessors in compiling the Westminster Confession, was a Dr Cornelius Burges. On the restoration of the monarchy, and with it of the Church of England, he published a number of 'Reasons shewing the necessity of reformation of the public doctrine¹,' as well as of worship and government. He also indulged in very frequent attacks upon the Articles of Religion, impugning them as either *doubtful* or *defective*. Under the first head, he included a severe censure of the Royal Declaration², on account of the shelter it was thought capable of yielding to the 'Arminian' tendencies of the clergy. He argued that its retention as a preface to the Articles was a check upon the spread of salutary doctrine, leading the way to a number of 'sad consequences,' among which is the sanction which was there given to a belief in the defectibility of grace, in the judicial authority of the Church, and in a variety of questionable statements which are interspersed in the Book of Homilies, more particularly in that relating to Almsdeeds³. On the other hand, it was attempted to prove that the Articles were *defective*, (1) in failing

Further agitation against the Articles, in 1660,

¹ The work professes to have been written 'by divers ministers of sundry counties in England,' but Burges was the real author. See Bp Pearson's *Minor Works*, II. 165, and the Editor's note.

² Bp Pearson is not quite

correct in speaking of the date of the Declaration, as 10 Caroli. The mistake is explained by Bennett, 366.

³ See Pearson's replies to the objections *seriatim*, *ibid.* II. 174, seqq.

to enumerate the books of the New Testament canon ; (2) in shrinking from an assault upon sundry points of Popery, or rather of ' Arminianism,' which were loudly calling for the animadversion of the Church¹; (3) in passing over many topics of general divinity, such as the creation, the doctrine of providence, the fall of man, sin, effectual calling, sabbath or Lord's day, marriage, communion of saints, &c. In all cases, however, it has been satisfactorily shewn by Bp Pearson, that the objections were either false in themselves, or rested upon a false hypothesis as to the nature and object of the work against which they were directed².

in 1689, and
subsequently.

Many of the same cavils have continually recurred in the writings of the later Puritans³, and are nowhere, perhaps, stated so plausibly and fully as in Richard Baxter's ' English Non-conformity,' which appeared in 1689. Like most of his predecessors in this field of criticism, he was not unwilling to acquiesce in the definitions of doctrine as they stand in the present series, but with the authors of the Admonitions to Parliament, he was constrained to add, that 'the words of the Articles *in the obvious sense* are many times liable to exception, and there are many things in them that good men may scruple⁴.' He then proceeds to specify the instances where exception had been taken to some one or other of them, by the writers of his own age ; but his remarks are frequently unworthy of serious refutation⁵, and are interesting only as evidence that in

¹ The work of Burges specifies universal redemption, universal grace, falling from grace, &c. See Pearson's remark, 189.

² See as above, and Answer to Dr Burges, II. 205, seqq.

³ They had publicly urged at the Savoy Conference, 1661, as one of their many grievances, that their preachers were obliged to accept the Articles as not con-

trary to the Word of God. Cardwell, Hist. of Conf. 266 (note).

⁴ Chap. xxiv.

⁵ Bingham, in his ' French Churches Apology for the Church of England,' 36—98, Lond. 1706, has examined most of the objections made by Baxter and others to the Articles of Religion. One of the latest assailants was John Wesley, who reduced the

spite of the general offers of the Non-conformist to accept the doctrinal Articles, provided the remnants of popery might be weeded out of the Ordinal and the Prayer-Book, there was always a lurking disaffection in the members of his school to the teaching of the English Church. She clung to the inheritance she had received, not from the Reformation merely, but through it from the earliest ages of the faith; while he felt a positive horror both of primitive and mediæval Christianity, acting, and even arguing as if Christ never 'had a true Church on the earth before these times¹.'

His hostility was, however, disarmed or abated at the period of the Revolution of 1688, for he was then left to the unfettered use of his own modes of worship, while the hope of his cordial conformity was less and less strongly cherished; and although the 'Act of Toleration²' enjoined the formality of subscribing the Articles of Religion, excepting the thirty-fourth, the thirty-fifth, the thirty-sixth, the affirmative clauses of the twentieth, and a portion of the twenty-seventh³, even this point of contact or collision was gradually weakened⁴ and is now altogether removed.

The subsequent efforts of the Arian party in the Church to escape from a number of unpalatable truths which are propounded in the Articles of Religion will be noticed in the course of the following chapter, on the history of Subscription.

number of the Articles to twenty-five, and inserted a number of characteristic changes.

¹ Bp Pearson, *On the Creed, To the Reader.*

² Stat. 1 Gul. et Mar. c. 18, § 8.

³ For the relief of the dissenters 'who scruple the bap-

tizing of infants,' § 10.

⁴ It appears that in 1772, the subscription of the dissenting minister was very seldom made. Letter to a Bishop, 56: and in 1779, the Act of 19 George III. c. 44, absolved him altogether.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ARTICLES.

Purport of
subscription.

IT does not fall in with the design of the present publication to enlarge upon the ethical meaning of subscription, nor to adjudicate in respect of the Articles before us, whether it must be viewed as extending to the *positive adoption* of every tenet there propounded, or whether it imply no more than a general obligation on the part of the subscriber to keep himself within definite limits in his treatment of controverted topics. Though the latter view has been occasionally advanced by men of the highest reputation¹, the former would seem to be more consistent with the nature and intention of the Articles as well as with the ground which the Church has occupied in the Canons of 1571².

The subscription of the clergy to Formularies of Faith is exacted with the hope of securing a similarity of doctrine in those who have deliberately undertaken the office of public teachers. It must accordingly involve their appropriation of the Articles as the exponent of their individual opinions, so far as they bear upon subjects which are authoritatively determined in that series; and while in this way obliging the clergyman to a full and positive faith, subscription is also the act by which he formally renounces the errors and corruptions which are there either censured or proscribed. It does not indeed assume that every single definition is capable of the same kind of proof, or that all are in the same way needful to

¹ *e.g.* Bramhall, Works, II. 201, and elsewhere; Oxf. 1842: but cf. Bennett, c. xxxiv. on this and other similar passages.

² 'Articuli illi . . . haud dubie

selecti sunt ex sacris libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti, et cum celesti doctrina quæ in illis continetur *per omnia congruunt.*' Cardwell's Synod. I. 127.

salvation, and necessary terms of communion for the layman; but even with respect to those statements which have been viewed as no more than probable opinions, or which are in truth only matters of history and of morals, the candidate for holy orders must certify his own willingness to shape his teaching by the public standard, and to yield his unwavering assent to the fitness of the whole collection.

The mode of interpreting the Articles has been made a further subject of discussion from the time of their first appearance¹; one man claiming to subscribe with the mental reservation—‘so far as they are in my opinion agreeable to the holy Scriptures;’ a second, questioning the obligation of the test where it may seem to have varied from the language of an older school or system; but reluctant as we may be to stigmatize² the subscriber of this kind as disloyal to the Church, or regardless of his own character and position, the claim to such an exercise of ‘private judgment’ is certainly incompatible with the health and continuity of all religious associations.

Mode of
interpreting
the Articles.

The following canons of interpretation, which have the sanction of some distinguished living prelates, appear to be more reasonable in themselves and more suited to the nature of the document for which they are intended:

First, to study the history of the period out of which the Articles were originally produced.

Secondly, to read them in this light, approximating as nearly as possible to the point of view which was occupied by the leading compilers.

Thirdly, to weigh the language of the Articles in its plain and grammatical sense (*i. e.* in the sense which it bore in the Edwardine and Elizabethan periods of

¹ See above, pp. 112, 201.

² Bp Conybeare (Sermon on 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4) characterizes the former view as ‘trifling with common sense as much as with common honesty.’ The same

principle was deliberately stated by the Arians at the beginning of the last century. Waterland, ‘Case of Arian Subscription,’ *passim*.

the Church), bestowing on it 'the just and favourable construction, which ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority.'

Fourthly, in case of vagueness in the language of the Articles, or (as might be expected from their history) of comparative *silence* touching some theological topic, to ascertain the doctrine of the Church of England, by consulting the rest of her symbolical writings—the Prayer-Book, the Ordinal, the Homilies and Canons.

Fifthly, where all these sources have been tried, without gaining *explicit* information as to the purport of any Article, to yield our assent to the inferences which 'the catholic doctors and ancient bishops' have gathered on that point out of the sacred Scriptures; according to the recommendation of the Canon in which the Articles of Religion were originally enjoined.

Subscription
first pub-
lickly
enjoined
June 19, 1553.

The first occasion which called for an exercise of these principles occurred in the years 1551 and 1552, when the Edwardine Articles were put in circulation at least by some of the reforming prelates, for the subscription of the English clergy¹. This, however, was done without any public authority either of the Church or of the civil power, and was not unfrequently resisted by the Romanizing party; but a royal mandate of June 19, 1553, made subscription imperative on all (including the students in the University of Cambridge), at the expiration of six weeks from the date of its appearance. By this means all the actual incumbents were constrained to subscribe on pain of deprivation, and a similar test was provided for those who might in future be appointed to any office in the Church². But the death of Edward interrupted the circulation of this mandate, and subscription to the Articles was accordingly abandoned for a period of eighteen years.

In the meanwhile, however, Gardiner had profited by the example which had been set by his rival Hooper; and on forwarding his series of fifteen Articles to the University of Cambridge, he took the pre-

¹ See above, 83—86.

² See above, p. 82, note (3).

caution of enjoining that they should be punctually subscribed by the students before admission to degrees¹.

During the early years of the reign of Elizabeth (1559—1571) the clergy, on entering their benefices, very generally accepted a test of doctrine embodied in ‘Eleven Articles;’ being commanded on the authority of the bishops, without any formal order of Convocation, to read this document on two Sundays of the year, after the Gospel for the day. The same was also prescribed in Ireland after the year 1566, but in neither country was attention drawn distinctly to the present list of Articles till 1571, excepting so far as the signatures of the members of the Synod, by whom the Edwardine Articles were revised, was a recognition of the principle of subscription.

Intermitted
from 1559 to
1571.

At the later date two measures, independent in their origin and operation, were adopted for promoting uniformity of doctrine, and for excluding all those from the ministry of the Church who were unwilling to acquiesce in the fitness of this test, as well as of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book. The first measure, originating in the House of Commons, and resulting in the Act 13 Eliz. c. 12, required ‘every one under the degree of a bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God’s holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration or ordering than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late king, of most worthy memory, King Edward the Sixth, or now used in the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady, before the feast of the Nativity of Christ next following, shall in the presence of the bishop, or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, *declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments...* and shall bring from such bishop or guardian of spiritualities in writing under his seal authentick, a testimonial of such assent and subscription; and

The Act of
Parliament
13 Eliz. c. 12.
renews the
necessity of
subscription.

¹ Wilkins, iv, 127.

openly on some Sunday, in the time of the public service aforenoon, in every Church where by reason of any ecclesiastical living he ought to attend, read both the said testimonial and the *said Articles*.'

Was any limitation granted by this Act as to the number of Articles subscribed?

The early portion of this clause was clearly designed to meet the case of the ministers who had been ordained during the previous reign, while the Ordinal of King Edward was superseded; and on this ground it had to encounter the reprobation of the 'Admonitioners to the Parliament,' which was published in the following year: but whether the Articles, to which subscription was exacted from the future candidates for ecclesiastical preferment, were *all* the thirty-nine of the present series, or those which can be regarded as purely dogmatical¹, are questions very difficult to answer.

In a following clause of the Act it is enjoined that no person shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice with cure, 'except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the least and a deacon, and shall first have subscribed *the said Articles* in presence of the ordinary,'—where the ambiguity of which we complained above, is no less strikingly apparent.

Bennett² and other writers have contended that the word 'only' was not designed to be restrictive but demonstrative, declaring the nature of the subjects handled in the Articles which exclusively concern the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments.

Affirmative evidence.

But this argument is at the best precarious, and when we bear in mind that such a distinction was actually drawn as early as the introduction of the bill, by its principal promoters³, and revived in the Admonition to the Parliament in the course of the following year⁴, and in the Convocation of

¹ The Articles relating to faith and doctrine (so far as these may be separated from the rest), are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22. Bp Gibson's Codex, 321.

² c. xxii.: cf. Collier, II. 531.

³ See above, pp. 145, 146.

⁴ See Whitgift's Defense of the Answer to the Admonition, 776, Lond. 1574. Elsewhere, however, it would seem as if the Ad-

1575¹, and urged still more emphatically on behalf of the Puritans in the reign of James I.², it must be allowed that the statute was regarded, at least by many who were in search of a pretext for non-conformity, as binding to no more than one class of statements.

Selden³ has alluded to the same fact in the following passage of his 'Table-Talk : ' 'There is a secret concerning the Articles,' he writes ; 'of late ministers have subscribed to all of them, but by Act of Parliament that confirmed them, they ought only to subscribe to those Articles which contain matter of faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments....But bishop Bancroft, in the Convocation held in king James's days, he began it, that ministers should subscribe to three things, to the king's supremacy, to the Common-Prayer, and to the Thirty-nine Articles ; though many of them do not contain matter of faith.'

The writers on the other side have alleged a remarkable opinion from the Institutes of Sir Edward Coke, which is couched in the following terms: 'I heard Wray, Chief Justice in the King's Bench, Pasch. 23 Eliz., report that where one Smyth subscribed to the said Thirty-nine Articles of Religion with this addition "so far forth as the same were agreeable to the Word of God," it was resolved by him and all the Judges of England, that this subscription was *not according to the statute* of 13 Eliz. Because the statute required an *absolute* subscription, and this subscription made it conditional ; and that this Act was made for avoiding of diversity of opinions, &c. and by this addition the party might by his own private opinion take some of them to be against the Word of God, and by this means diversity of opinions should not be avoided,—which was the scope of the statute,—and the very Act

Negative evidence.

monitioners did not themselves recognize this distinction. They speak of the 'pontificall, which is annexed to the booke of common-prayer and whereunto subscribing to the Articles we must

subscribe also.' B. v.

¹ Wilkins, iv. 284.

² See above, p. 200, note (2).

³ Table Talk, 'Articles,' 3, 4. Lond. 1789.

itself made touching subscription hereby of none effect¹.'

Now this opinion of the Lord Chief Justice, soon after the statute came into operation, is certainly entitled to great weight, but it seems to rest solely on a determination that no such reserve or restriction was easily reconcileable with the object of the Church, instead of being drawn from a careful examination of the wording of the Act itself, and the known views of its leading promoters.

The practice also of the high commissioners before whom delinquents were summoned was in favour of the rigorous interpretation; but while this fact is of the greatest service in ascertaining the general feeling of the Church at that period, it does not clear away the ambiguity of language observable in the passages above mentioned. As late also as the opening of the reign of Charles II. the king himself appears to have recognised a distinction between articles of doctrine and articles of discipline²: yet in the Act of Uniformity (13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4), such a difference is wholly abandoned, and there is now no colourable plea³ for seeking shelter in a limitatory clause, however plausibly it might have been urged anterior to the passing of that Act.

Proceedings
of the Con-
vocation,
1571, on
Subscription.

But while the House of Commons were thus exacting a subscription to the Articles (1) of all the clergy who had not been ordained according to the Edwardine form, and (2) of all future incumbents upon admission to their cures, the Convocation of the same year was actively engaged in devising a second and auxiliary provision. They enjoined⁴ that all persons approved as public preachers, should have their licenses renewed only on the condition that they subscribe the Articles of Religion as agreed on at the

¹ Instit. Part iv. c. 74, 323, 324.

² Cardwell's Document. Annals, II. 300.

³ Yet Blackburne ventures to

affirm, that the limiting clause is not abrogated by that Act. Preface to 2nd edition of the 'Confessional.'

⁴ Cardwell, Synod. I. 127.

Synod, and pledge themselves to preach in accordance with that standard. In like manner every minister of a church before entering upon his sacred functions is enjoined¹ to give a satisfactory proof of the orthodoxy of his creed by subscribing (not some, but) *all* the Articles of Religion;—where the prelates had obviously an eye to the notion that all the requirements of the Church were included in the recognition of what were deemed the *doctrinal* Articles; and consequently, if subscription to the rest could not have been legally enforced, it is indisputable that the whole work was now binding on the clergy, at least *in foro conscientiae*.

It may have been this consideration which moved the commissioners to demand the subscriptions of 1572 without any limitation or reserve: and the obligatory imposition of the Articles in general would form the crying grievance of the Puritans, and the cause of the formidable agitations which sprang up in every quarter. The earliest symptom of discontent appears in the following extract²: ‘Whereas immediately after the laste Parliament, holden at Westminster, begon in anno 1570, and ended in anno 1571, the ministers of God’s holy Word and Sacraments were called before her maiesties hygh commyssyoners and enforced to subscribe vnto the Articles, if they would kepe theyr places and liuyngs, and some for refusing to subscribe³ vnbrotherly and vncharitably intreated, and from theyr offyces and places removed: May it please therefore thys honorable and high court of Parliament, in consideration of the premises to take a view of such causes as then dyd withhold, and now doth, the foresayd ministers from subscribing and consenting vnto those foresaid Articles,’ &c.

Resistance of
the Non-con-
formists.

¹ Cardwell, Synod. i. 120.

² Pref. to the First ‘Admonition to the Parliament.’

³ The number actually deprived for non-subscription was about one hundred. Neal, i.

284: cf. Preface to Rogers, On the Articles, who describes the mal-contents as ‘divers of the inferior ministers in and about London and elsewhere in this kingdom.’

Laxity of the
prelates in
pressing sub-
scription:

repaired in
in some
measure by
Whitgift,
1584.

This attack on the general principle of subscription without regard to the nature of the document propounded, was speedily followed by others of the same unsparing tone. 'The wound grows desperate,' they cried¹, 'and wants a corrosive; 'tis no time to blanch or sew pillows under men's elbows.' Yet instead of meeting this furious onslaught and repelling the demon of non-conformity at its first invasion of the Church, too many of the Elizabethan prelates, after a few feeble efforts, sunk down into lethargic acquiescence, or even fostered the growth of the evils which were to issue in the Great Rebellion. The whole of the primacy of Grindal was marked by his tenderness in favour of the Non-conformists, and in his later years he seems to have almost wholly neglected to press the Articles, or any other test of doctrine, upon the clergy of his province². The result was that when Whitgift succeeded to his post in 1583, he found it necessary to enter upon more stringent measures for preserving the Church from the rising inundations of the Puritanic principle. He accordingly proposed a number of declarations which are known as 'Whitgift's Articles,' and which finally received the sanction of the Church in the 36th of the Jacobean Canons. They were designed for all who had been admitted to the cure of souls³, as well as for all who should in future be licensed to preach, read, catechize, minister the sacraments, or execute any other ecclesiastical function⁴. The first relates to the royal supremacy, the second to the Prayer-Book and Ordinal, while the third immediately bearing on our subject is expressed in the following terms: 'That I allow the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, and set forth by her Majesty's authority, and do believe all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word

¹ Neal, i. 285.

² Fuller, Church Hist. Bk. ix.
p. 138. ed. fol.

³ Pref. to Rogers, On the
Articles.

⁴ Bennett, 398, 399.

of God. In witness whereof I have subscribed my name¹.'

'The brethren,' as the Puritan party was now generally designated, were so pressed by this vigorous measure of the Primate², that the year 1584 is noted in their annals as 'the woful year of subscription³.' Nor was the indignation excited at this period confined to the bosoms of the clergy. The House of Commons also, which was now more and more strongly tainted with the democracy of Geneva, addressed a petition to the Lords in 1585, desiring that 'hereafter *no oath or subscription* be tendred to any that is to enter into the ministry, or to any benefice with cure, or to any place of preaching, but such only as be expressly prescribed by the statutes of this realm⁴,' &c.

Indignation
of the Puri-
tans.

Yet the impulsive efforts of one true-hearted prelate appear to have had little force in curing the laxity of discipline which prevailed in the Church at large. Non-conformity went on silently increasing, and that with the connivance of the bishops, until it leavened the whole lump. 'How carelessly subscription is exacted in England,' was the lamentation of Bancroft in 1593, 'I am ashamed to report. Such is the retchlessness of many of our bishops on the one side, and their desire to be at ease and quietness to think upon their own affairs; and on the other side, such is the obstinacy and intolerable pride of that factious sort, as that betwixt both sides, either subscription is not at all required, or if it be, the bishops admit them so

Continued
relaxation
of subscrip-
tion.

¹ For another form of subscription employed at this period, see Bennett, 399.

² In the same year the Convocation put forth certain 'Articuli pro clero,' enjoining among other things that no bishop shall hereafter admit any person to holy Orders, except he is of his own diocese . . . 'vel saltem, nisi rationem fidei suæ juxta Articulos illos Religionis . . . Latino ser-

mone reddere possit, adeo ut sacrarum literarum testimonia, quibus eorundem Articulorum veritas innititur, recitare etiam valeat.' Cardwell, Synod. i. 141.

³ Rogers, *ibid*.

⁴ D'Ewes, 358. The Archbishop of York (Sandys) replied, that 'for subscription, he doubted not it was lawful and might prove the cause of much order and quietness in the Church,' 360.

*to qualifie it that it were better to be omitted altogether*¹.'

The zeal of
Bancroft.

Subscription
commanded
in the Canons
of 1604.

Bancroft was himself raised to the primacy of England very early in the following century, and before that time had been distinguished by his zeal in reducing the lawlessness of the Non-conformists. He was president of the Convocation which assembled on the 20th of March, 160 $\frac{3}{4}$, and in which the Articles of Religion 'all and singular,' were subscribed 'by the byshops and the whole cleargy of the province of Canterbury.' This formal recognition had doubtless been suggested by the prevalent hostility to the Articles, as well as to the other Formularies of the Church², on the part of the puritan body; and the same cause would operate in the proposition of Bancroft, to engraft the disciplinary injunctions of archbishop Whitgift³, upon the new code of Canons, which were solemnly confirmed at this period, under the great seal of England. The absolute order for subscription which this code embodied, resulted in the secession of a large number of the Non-conformists, entitled 'brethren of the second separation,' and in the further embittering of those who adhered to the communion of the Church, against the whole ecclesiastical system.

But the zeal of the English rulers, though too long dormant or perverted, was now prompting them to undertake a more extensive plan for repairing its

¹ Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline, 249. Lond. 1593.

² At the Hampton-Court Conference just before, the leader of the Puritans had contended that 'subscription was a great impeachment to a learned ministry, and therefore entreated *it might not be exacted as heretofore.*' Cardwell's Hist. of Confer. 193. 'To subscribe according to the statutes of the realm, namely, to the Articles and the King's supremacy they were not

unwilling.' The Prayer-Book was the great stumbling-block.

³ See above, p. 222. and cf. Canon xxxvi. which enjoins subscription to the Articles universally on all as well at ordination as at institution to a benefice. The best 'Account of the Subscription of the Convocation to the Articles in 1604,' is given by the late Archdeacon Todd in App. iv. of his 'Declarations of our Reformers on Original Sin,' &c. Lond. 1818.

many breaches¹. The Universities, which had long been the nursery of puritanism, were henceforth included under the operation of the test provided by the Canons of 1604. It is true that the officers of Cambridge adopted a similar method of ascertaining the orthodoxy of their graduates, as early as the reign of Edward; but his death, as we have noticed, put an end to the agitation which this question was exciting, and it does not seem to have been afterwards mooted there until the reign of James I². At Oxford, however, a decree of Convocation, in 1573, commanded that each candidate for the future, before taking his degree, should subscribe the Articles of Religion; and in 1576, a further law extended the application of the test to every person above the age of sixteen, upon entering his name at any College or Hall. In the year 1616³ the powers of both the Universities were enlarged by directions from King James, enjoining that *all* who were admitted to degrees should subscribe the three Articles of the 36th Canon; but in the case of Cambridge, it was resolved by the 'Grand Committee for Religion,' (Jan. 19, 1640⁴), that the regulation for exacting subscription from the students was against the law and liberty of the subject, and ought not to be pressed in future upon any one whatever⁴.

Extended
to the
Universities.

Yet notwithstanding the disuse into which it had fallen, during the gloomy interval that elapsed from this period to the Restoration of Charles II., it was now imposed upon the clergy with a greater

Effect of the
Restoration
to re-establish
subscription.

¹ e. g. Bancroft inquires in 1605, and Abbott in 1616, whether any impugn the Articles (Cardwell's Docum. Ann. ii. 103, 221).

² Some of the following facts are drawn from a 'Summary View of the Laws relating to Subscriptions,' &c., 2nd ed. Lond. 1772.

³ Three years earlier the King had prescribed subscription to the three Articles of the 36th Canon in the case of candidates for *divinity* degrees, but the rule was now made binding upon all who took any degree whatever.

⁴ Rushworth, iv. 149.

stringency than ever. Conformity to the ritual of the Church was peremptorily ordered by Sheldon and his colleagues, and the 36th of the Jacobean Canons obeyed with unswerving punctuality. Among other proofs of the augmented vigilance, which it was thought necessary to exert in promoting the harmony of faith and worship, the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II., c. 14, requires every head of a college to 'subscribe unto the Nine and Thirty Articles of Religion, mentioned in the statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth....and declare his unfeigned assent and consent unto, and approbation of, the said Articles:' and in a subsequent proviso it enacts, that 'all such subscriptions shall be construed *as extending to the Ordinal* mentioned in the six and thirtieth Article, any thing in the said Article, or in any statute, act, or canon heretofore had or made, to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.'

The Act of Toleration, as we have seen already, restricted the number of the Articles which were offered to 'dissenting ministers,' but in the application of that Formulary to the Church, its effect has been altogether unimpaired from the period of the Restoration to the times in which we live.

Subsequent
attempts to
remove it.

It should be remarked, however, that a large number of the English clergy, more especially in the middle of the last century, were loud in demanding emancipation from what they called the 'fetters of subscription.' The depriving of the Non-jurors very frequently involved the substitution of elements ill-according with the primitive temper of the Prayer-Book, or with the unhesitating voice of the other Formularies in behalf of dogmatic truth. The controversies also, which broke out at the same period, were the means of confining the attention of the rest to their own immediate wants; and in proportion as the study of patristic literature decayed, there grew up a school of Arian and Socinian clergy, absolutely denying the necessity

of faith in the fundamental doctrines of the Church, or striving to reduce the credenda of the Gospel to the lowest possible number. Still it is painful to record, that most of these writers were not unwilling, in the first instance, to undergo the formality, as they deemed it, of subscribing the Articles of Religion, either as a step on the way to ordination or to the honours and emoluments of office. They alleged that 'these Articles may conscientiously be subscribed in any sense in which they themselves, by their own interpretation, could reconcile them to Scripture, without regard to the meaning and intention, either of the persons who first compiled or who now imposed them¹.' But the hollowness of their principle was speedily acknowledged, and many of them afterwards resorted to a scheme for demolishing every oath and declaration, which had the power of questioning their fitness for the work of their sacred callings. Headed by the unscrupulous but very talented author of the 'Confessional,' they affirmed that the doctrines of the Christian religion cannot possibly be made clearer by human compilations or Articles of faith; that to demand a full and undoubted assent to propositions, in themselves very doubtful and obscure, is to tyrannize over the understanding of subscribers; that external conformity in the *use* of an established Liturgy without the aid of Articles of Religion, or *any* test of doctrine whatsoever, is security enough for the decencies of public worship, and also for the peaceful continuation of the present Church-establishment².

The movement of 1771, headed by Blackburne.

¹ Waterland, Case of Arian Subscription, Works, II. 264, 265.

² See these arguments soberly stated in a 'Letter to the Members of the Honourable House of Commons,' by a Christian Whig, Lond. 1772. The Arian character of the movement is

peculiarly manifest in 'Reasons humbly offered for composing a new set of Articles of Religion; with XXI. Articles proposed as a specimen for improvement,' Lond. 1771. In this 'improved set,' there is no allusion to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

While the press was teeming with publications in behalf of these bold and suicidal measures, the disaffection took a more formidable shape under the guidance of the same Blackburne, who had been the instrument in rousing the general agitation. In 1771, he published his 'Proposals for an Application to Parliament, for relief in the matter of subscription to the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church of England¹;' and as the way had been already opened in some of his earlier productions, there was no lack of 'learned and conscientious clergy' to aid him in his present undertaking. A petition² was accordingly prepared and introduced into the House of Commons, Feb. 6, 1772. It set out by affirming 'the undoubted right of Protestants to interpret Scripture for themselves;' it complained of the violence habitually done to this principle by the exaction of assent to 'Articles and Confessions of faith drawn up by fallible men;' and after enlarging upon other grievances, submitted the cause of the petitioners, 'under God, to the wisdom and justice of a British parliament, and the piety of a Protestant king.'

Defeated by
the House of
Commons.

Happily, however, for the nation as well as for the Church, this feverish effort of the Arianizing party to escape from the consequences of the obligations to which it had willingly submitted, was condemned in the House of Commons. By whatever motives they were influenced, whether by 'disinclination to religious changes³,' or 'by the fashion of the times⁴,' or by a clearer anticipation of the fruits of this measure than some of its infatuated authors, they repelled the petition on the threshold, by a majority of 217 to 71, leaving Blackburne to utter his regret in a series of acrimonious 'Reflections' on the fate of his darling project.

¹ Works, vii. 1, seqq. Camb. 1804.

an advocate of the measure), 4. Lond. 1772.

² See it at length; *ibid.* 15, seqq.

⁴ Blackburne, *Reflections on the Fate of a Petition*, &c.

³ A Letter to a Bishop, (by

Works, vii. 37.

The following period⁵ in the history of religion was undisturbed by any organized attack upon the Articles, or, indeed, upon any of the tests of doctrine put forth by the English Church; for in spite of the coldness which prevailed at the close of the last century, and in spite also of a number of individual scruples, and the laxer theories of subscription which are perpetually recurring, the Formularies of Faith have continued to keep their hold upon the affections of the country, and to answer the salutary end for which they were first provided.

In our own age, there is, perhaps, less fear than ever, that the Articles of Religion will be successfully assailed by the growing host of misbelievers. The new life which has sprung up in the hearts of individual churchmen, and has propagated itself through the masses of the island to the farthest dependencies of our gigantic empire, is awakening, together with a deeper zeal and a more unworldly self-renunciation, a fresh love for the objective verities of religion, and a cordial regard for the teaching of the past. It has quickened the perception of our intimate affinity to the whole of the Christian body; it has urged us to emulate the ancient worthies into whose labours we have entered; and if only it be calm and discriminating as it is vigorous and expansive, it will, by God's help, make this Church of England the joy of the whole earth.

Long indeed may she go forward on her mission, patiently tracking the footsteps of her Master, and earnestly contending for the faith as it was once delivered to the saints. And long especially may we be spared the distressing spectacle which is exhibited in the continent of Europe, where the principles vindicated and re-affirmed in the age of the Reformation, were then as ardently cherished as on our own side of

⁵ In 1801 the Articles were formally accepted (not, however, without modification in one or two particulars) by the Church in the United States of America, and in 1804, as was before mentioned, p. 174, note 3, by the sister Church in Scotland.

the German Ocean, but where now the guilty abandonment of Formularies, combining with an imperfect ecclesiastical organization, has left no more than a small and sorrowing remnant to toil in the re-establishment of the Gospel upon the quicksands of infidelity.

APPENDIX

No. I.

ARTICLES¹

DEvised BY

THE KINGES HIGHNES MAJESTIE,
TO STABLYSHE CHRISTEN QUIETNES AND UNITIE
AMONGE US,

AND

TO AVOYDE CONTENTIOUS OPINIONS,

WHICH ARTICLES BE ALSO APPROVED

BY THE CONSENT AND DETERMINATION OF THE HOLE
CLERGIE OF THIS REALME.

ANNO M.D.XXXVI.

¹ [In the Cotton MS. the title is, 'Articles about Religion, set out by the Convocation, and published by the King's authority.' See above, pp. 47, 48].

APPENDIX
No. 1.

The text of the following Articles is that of the edition originally printed by Thomas Berthelet, in 1536, which is preferred for the reasons above stated, p. 49. The collations marked *B* are derived from the Cotton MS. Cleopatra, E. V. fol. 59, through the medium of Burnet's Addend. to Vol. i. 459, seqq.; while those marked *C* represent the variations of the Articles as they were drawn by Collier, from the 'State Paper Office,' ii. 122, seqq.; and those marked *F*, the variations in a copy made by Fuller from the Convocation-Records; Church History, Book v. p. 213, seqq. ed. fol.

THE PREFACE¹.

Henry the VIII. by the grace of God king of England and of France, defensor^a of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the Church of England, to all, and singular our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, greeting.

AMONG other cures appertaining^b unto this our princely office, whereunto it hath pleased Almighty God of His infinite mercy and goodness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought, like as we also yet esteem and think, that it most chiefly belongeth unto our said charge diligently to foresee and cause, that not only the most holy
10 word and commandments of God should most sincerely be believed, and most reverently be observed and kept of our subjects, but also^c that unity and concord in opinion^d, namely in such things as doth concern our religion, may increase and go forthward, and all occasion of dissent and discord touching the same be repressed and utterly extinguished.

For the which cause, we being of late, to our great regret, credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprung in this our realm, as well concerning certain articles necessary to our salvation, as also touching certain other honest and commendable cere-
20 monies, rites, and usages now of long time used and accustomed in our churches^e, for conservation of an honest policy and decent and seemly order to be had therein^f, minding to have that unity and agreement established through our said Church concerning the premises, and being very desirous to eschew not only the dangers of souls, but also the outward unquietness which by occasion of the said diversity in opinions (if remedy were not provided) might perchance have ensued, have not only in our own person at many times taken great pains, study, labours, and travails, but also have caused our bishops, and other the most

^a defensor] defender *B.*

^b appertaining] committed *B.*

^c that it most chiefly . . . but also] this to be most chief, most ponderous, and of most weight, that His holy word and commandments may sincerely, without let or hindrance, be of our subjects truly believed and reverently kept, and

observed; and that *B.*

^d opinion] opinions *F.*

^e now of long time . . . churches] in our said church *B.*

^f for conservation . . . had therein] for an honest policy and decent order heretofore of long time used and accustomed *B.*

¹ The whole of the Declaration or Preface is wanting in *C.*

discreet and best learned men of our clergy of this our whole realm, to be assembled in our convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same. Where, after long and mature deliberation, and disputations had of and upon the premises, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the most special points and articles, as well such as be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, as, also divers other matters^g touching the honest ceremonies and good and politic orders, as is aforesaid; which their determination, debatement, and agreement, for so much as we think to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws and ordi- 10 nances of God, and much profitable for the establishment of that charitable concord and unity in our church of England, which we most desire, we have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring, and commanding you, to accept, repute, and take them accordingly. And further we most heartily desire and pray^h Almighty God, that it may please him so to illumine your hearts, that you and every of you may have no less desire, zeal, and love to the said unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, than we have had, and have in causing them to be thus devised, set forth, and published.

And, for because we would the said Articles and every of them 20 should be taken and understanden of you after such sort, order, and degree, as appertaineth accordingly, we have caused, by the like assent and agreement of our said bishops and other learned men, the said Articles to be divided into two sorts; whereof the one part containeth such as be commandedⁱ expressly by God, and be necessary to our salvation; and the other containeth such things as have been of a long continuance for a decent order and honest policy, prudently instituted and used in the churches^k of our realm, and be for that same purpose and end to be observed and kept accordingly, although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation^l. Where- 30 fore we will and require you to accept the same, after such sort as we have here prescribed them unto you, and to conform yourselves obediently unto the same. Whereby you^m shall not only attain that most charitable unity and loving concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable commodity, profit, and lucre, as well spiritual as other, but also you shall not a little encourage us to take further travailsⁿ,

^g the most special points . . . other matters] the said matters, as well those that be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, and as also the other *B*.

^h And further . . . pray] most heartily desiring and praying *B*.

ⁱ whereof the one part . . . commanded] that is to say, such as are commanded *B*.

^k churches] church *F*.

^l The order of the clauses of the sentence is inverted in *B*.

^m Wherefore we will . . . Whereby you] which ye following, after such sort as we have prescribed unto you *B*.

ⁿ you shall not . . . travails] ye conforming yourselves, and using these our said Articles as is aforesaid shall not a little encourage us to take further travail *B*.

pains, and labours for your commodities, in all such other matters as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour of God, the profit, tranquillity, and quietness of all you our most loving subjects.

[I.] *The principal articles concerning our Faith.*

First, As touching the chief and principal articles of our faith, sith it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole clergy of this our realm, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach
 10 our people, by us committed to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible, and also in the three Creeds or symbols^o, whereof one was made by the apostles, and is the common creed, which every man useth; the second was made by the holy council of Nice, and is said daily in the mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the Psalm *Quicumque vult*: and that they ought and must take and interpret all the same things according to the selfsame sentence and interpretation, which the words of the selfsame^p creeds or symbols do pur-
 20 port, and the holy approved doctors of the Church do entreat and defend the same.

Item, That they ought and must repute, hold, and take all the same things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain, and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought, ne can be altered or convelled, by any contrary opinion or authority.

Item, That they ought and must believe, repute, and take all the articles of our faith contained in the said creeds to be so necessary to be believed for man's salvation, that whosoever being taught will not believe them as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of
 30 them^q, he or they cannot be the very members of Christ and his espouse the Church, but be very infidels or heretics, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.

Item, That they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the selfsame words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the articles of our faith be already contained and expressed in the said creeds, without altering in any wise, or varying from the same.

Item, That they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all those opinions contrary to the said Articles, which were of long time past
 40 condemned in the four holy councils, that is to say, in the Council of

^o three Creeds or symbols] Creed and symbols C.

^p selfsame] said C.

^q them] C adds or any of them.

Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedonense, and all other sith that time in any point consonant to the same.

[II.] *The Sacrament of Baptism.*

Secondly, As touching the holy sacrament of baptism, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which hath been always by the whole consent of the Church approved, received, and used in the sacrament of baptism; that is to say, that the sacrament of baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesu^r Christ, as 10 a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cœlorum*: that is to say^s, No man can enter into the kingdom of heaven, except he be born again of water and the Holy Ghost.

Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of Christ^t, *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit*: that is to say, Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved. 20

Item, That the promise of grace and everlasting life (which promise is adjoined unto this sacrament of baptism) pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children; and that they ought therefore and must needs be baptized; and that by the sacrament of baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. Insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved^u thereby, and else not.

Item, That infants must needs be christened because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done 30 but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth His grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by His most secret virtue and operation.

Item, That children or men once baptized, can, ne ought ever to be baptized again.

Item, That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists' and the Pelagians' opinions contrary to the premises, and every other man's

^r Jesu] Jesus B, C; the same elsewhere.

^t saying of Christ] saying of John C.

^s The translation in this and other instances wanting in B and C: F gives the English without the Latin.

^u saved] salved C. This spelling is retained throughout.

opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists' or the Pelagians' opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, That men or children having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptized, shall, by the virtue of that holy sacrament, obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the first Article^x.

- 10 And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said sacrament, which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for His son Jesu Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God, according to the saying of St John and the apostle St Peter^y, *Delictorum poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomen Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*; that is to say, Do penance for your sins, and be each of you baptized in the name of Jesu
- 20 Christ, and you shall obtain remission of your sins, and shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. And according also to the saying of St Paul, *Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulente per Jesum Christum Servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia hæredes efficiamur juxta spem vitæ æternæ*; that is to say, God hath not saved us for the works of justice which we have done, but of His mercy by baptism, and renovation of the Holy Ghost, whom He hath poured out upon us most plentifully, for the love of Jesu Christ our Saviour, to the intent that
- 30 we, being justified by His grace, should be made the inheritors of everlasting life, according to our hope.

[III.] *The Sacrament of Penance.*

Thirdly, Concerning the sacrament of penance, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that sacrament was institute of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man,

^x in the first Article] in the article here before, or else not C: in the article before, or else not B.

^y saying of Saint John and the apostle Saint Peter] saying of Christ and His apostle St Peter B, C.

which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can, without the same, be saved, or attain everlasting life.

Item, That like as such men which after baptism do fall again into sin, if they do not penance in this life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from their^z naughty life, and do such penance for the same as Christ requireth of them^a, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins, and shall be saved.

Item, That the sacrament of perfect penance which Christ requireth of such manner persons consisteth of three parts, that is to say, contri- 10 tion, confession, and the amendment of the former life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the laws and will of God, that is to say, exterior acts in works of charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in scripture, *fructus digni poenitentia*, the worthy fruits of penance.

Furthermore, as touching contrition, which is the first part, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that the said contrition consisteth in two special parts, which must always be conjoined together, and cannot be dissevered; that is to say, the penitent and contrite 20 man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own sin^b, (unto which knowledge^c he is brought by hearing and considering of the will of God declared in His laws,) and feeling and perceiving in his own conscience that God is angry and displeased with him for the same; he must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of God's displeasure towards him, considering he hath no works or merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God, as sufficient satisfaction for his sins; which done, then afterward with this fear, shame, and sorrow must needs succeed and be conjoined, the second 30 part, that is to wit, a certain faith, trust, and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified, and of the number of His elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten and also confirmed, and made more strong by the applying of Christ's words and promises^d of His grace and favour, contained in His gospel, and the sacraments

^z their] the said B, their said C.

^a C adds the declaration of which followeth.

^b sin] sins C.

^c unto which knowledge] whereunto B, C.

^d promises] promise B.

instituted by Him in the New Testament; and therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of penance is necessary, that is to say, confession to a priest, if it may be had; for the absolution given by the priest was instituted of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favour to the penitent.

Wherefore as touching confession, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their
10 spiritual charge, that they ought and must certainly believe that the words of absolution pronounced by the priest, be spoken by authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel.

Item, That they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of absolution so pronounced by the ministers of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God Himself if He should speak unto us out of heaven, according to the saying of Christ, *Quorumcunque remiseritis peccata^e, remittuntur eis: quorumcunque retinueritis retenta sunt*: that is to say, Whose sins
20 soever ye do forgive, shall be forgiven; whose sins soever ye do retain, shall be retained. And again in another place Christ saith, *Qui vos audit me audit*, &c.; that is to say, Whosoever heareth you heareth me, &c.

Item, That in no wise^f they do contemn this auricular confession which is made unto the ministers of the Church, but that they ought to repute the same as a very expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this absolution at the priest's hands, at such time as they shall find their consciences grieved with mortal sin, and have occasion so to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain
30 comfort and consolation of their consciences.

As touching the third part of penance, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ and His death be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners not only their sin, but also eternal pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite, and confessed, must needs also bring forth the fruits of penance, that is to say, prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, and must make restitution or satisfac-
40 tion in will and deed to their neighbours, in such things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and also must do all other good works of mercy and charity^g, and express their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's commandment outwardly, when time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto them, or else they shall never be

^e The rest of the quotation not cited in B.

^f wise] ways B.

^g and must make restitution or satisfaction... charity] and all other good works C.

saved; for this is the express precept and commandment of God, *Agite fructus dignos pœnitentiæ*; that is to say, Do you the worthy fruits of penance^h: and St Paul saithⁱ, *Quemadmodum præbuisitis membra vestra serva immunditiæ et iniquitati ad aliam atque aliam iniquitatem; sic et nunc præbete membra vestra serva justitiæ ad sanctificationem, &c.*; that is to say, Like as in times past you have given and applied yourself and all the members of your body to all filthy living and wickedness, continually increasing the same, in like manner now you must give and apply yourself wholly to justice, increasing continually in purity and cleanness of life: and in another place he saith, *Castigo 10 corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo*; that is to say, I chastise and subdue my carnal body and the affections of the same, and make them obedient unto the spirit.

Item, That these precepts and works of charity be necessary works to our salvation, and God necessarily requireth that every penitent man shall perform the same, whensoever time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto him so to do.

Item, That by penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world, according 20 to the saying of St Paul, *Si nos ipsi judicaremus, non judicaremur a Domino*; that is to say, If we would correct and take punishment of ourselves, we should not be so grievously corrected of God: and Zacharias the prophet saith, *Convertimini ad me, et ego convertar ad vos*; that is to say, Turn yourselves unto me, and I will turn again unto you: and the prophet Esay saith, *Frangere esurienti panem tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam. Cum videris nudum operi eum et carnem tuam ne despexeris: tunc erumpet quasi mane lumen tuum, et sanitas tua citius orietur, et anteibit faciem tuam justitia tua, et gloria Dei colliget te: tunc invocabis et Dominus exaudiet te, clamabis, 30 et dicet: Ecce adsum. Tunc orietur in tenebris lux tua et tenebræ tuæ erunt sicut meridies, et requiem tibi dabit Dominus semper, et implebit splendoribus animam tuam, et ossa tua liberabit, et eris quasi hortus irriguus et sicut fons aquarum, cujus non deficient aquæ, &c.*; that is to say, Break and deal thy bread unto the hungry, bring into thy house the poor man, and such as want harborough; when thou seest a naked man, give him clothes to cover him with, and refuse not to succour and help the poor and needy, for he is thine own flesh. And if thou wilt thus do, then shall thy light glister out as bright as the sun in the morning, and thy health shall sooner arise unto thee, and thy justice 40

^h penance] C inserts and saint Paul saith
'Debitores sumus.'

ⁱ saint Paul saith] in another place he saith C.

shall go before thy face, and the glory of God shall gather thee up, that thou shalt not fall: and whensoever thou shalt call upon God, God shall hear thee; and whensoever thou shalt cry unto God, God shall say, Lo, here I am, ready to help thee. Then shall thy light overcome all darkness, and thy darkness shall be as bright as the sun at noon days; and then God shall give unto thee continual rest, and shall fulfil thy soul with brightness, and shall deliver thy body from adversity; and then thou shalt be like a garden, that most plentifully bringeth forth all kind of fruits, and like the well-spring that never shall want
10 water.

These things, and such other, should be continually taught and inculked into the ears of our people, to the intent to stir and provoke them unto good works; and by the selfsame good works to exercise and confirm their faith and hope, and look for to receive at God's hand mitigation and remission of the miseries, calamities, and grievous punishments, which God sendeth to men in this world for their sins^k.

[IV.] *The Sacrament of the Altar.*

Fourthly, As touching the sacrament of the altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by
20 us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and¹ of all them which receive the said sacrament; and that therefore the said sacrament is to be used
30 with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience, before he shall receive the same; according to the saying of St Paul, *Quisquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini; probet igitur seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de poculo illo bibat: nam qui edit aut bibit indigne iudicium sibi ipsi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini; that is to say, Whosoever eateth this body of Christ un-*

^k B and C substitute for this last paragraph the following equivalent: *Hæc sunt inculcanda ecclesiis et ut exercitentur ad bene operandum, et in hiis ipsis operibus exercent et confirment*

fidem, petentes et expectantes a Deo mitigationem præsentium calamitatum.

¹ unto and] wanting B, C.

worthily, or drinketh of this blood of Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the very body and blood of Christ; wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this drink. For whosoever eateth it or drinketh it unworthily, he eateth and drinketh it to his own damnation; because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ and other kinds of meat.

[V.] *Justification.*

Fifthly, As touching the order and cause of our justification, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that this word Justification 10 signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

Item, That sinners attain this justification by contrition and faith joined with charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for His Son's sake Jesu Christ, and the merits of His blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof: 20 and yet that notwithstanding, to the attaining of the same justification, God requireth to be in us not only inward contrition, perfect faith and charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which, as we said before, must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification; but also He requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of His laws and commandments: for although acceptation to everlasting life be conjoined with justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life; 30 and we being justified, be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do good works, according to the saying of St Paul, *Debitores sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem vivamus. Nam si secundum carnem vixerimus, moriemur: sin autem spiritu facta corporis mortificaverimus, vivemus; etenim quicumque Spiritu Dei ducuntur, hi sunt filii Dei*; that is to say, We be bound not to live according to the flesh and to fleshly appetites; for if we live so, we shall undoubtedly be damned. And contrary, if we will mortify the deeds of our flesh, and live according to the Spirit, we shall be saved. For whosoever be led by the Spirit of God, they be the children of God. And Christ saith, 40 *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*; that is to say, If ye will come

to heaven, keep the commandments. And St Paul, speaking of evil works, saith, *Qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt*; that is to say, Whosoever commit sinful deeds, shall never come to heaven. Wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by Him; and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost; that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invoke
 10 and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues: for Christ saith, *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum et Phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum*; that is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the law of God.

ARTICLES CONCERNING THE LAUDABLE CEREMONIES
 USED IN THE CHURCH^m.

[VI.] *And first of Images.*

20 **A**S touching images, truth it is that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the great abuses of them sometime destroyedⁿ and put down; and in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good authors do declare. Wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And first, that there may be attributed unto them, that they be representers of virtue and good example, and that they also be by occasion the kindlers and stirrers of men's minds, and make men oft to^o remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and
 30 our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: and to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do, we will that our bishops and preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses, for else there might fortune idolatry to

^m This division of the Articles is not found in B, nor C.

ⁿ that the same . . . destroyed] that the same hath been said in the Old Testament for the great

abuses of them to have been sometime destroyed C.

^o oft to] often B, C, F.

ensue, which God forbid. And as for censing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion, and fallen to custom; yet the people ought to be diligently taught that they in nowise do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but only to be done to God, and in His honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, of our Lady, or of any other saint beside.

[VII.] *Of honouring of Saints.*

As touching the honouring of saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto 10 their spiritual charges, that saints now being with Christ in heaven be to be honoured of Christian people in earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that^p which must be had only of God: but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly life out of this transitory world, because they already do reign in glory with Christ; and most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues which He planted in them, for example of, and by them to such as yet are in this world to live in virtue and goodness, and also not to fear to die for Christ and 20 His cause, as some of them did; and finally to take them, in that they may, to be advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways, and such like, be saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

[VIII.] *Of praying to Saints.*

As touching praying to saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient Mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray 30 to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God after this manner: 'All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for His dear Son Jesu Christ's sake, we may have grace of Him and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, (not wanting ghostly strength,) to observe and keep His holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives' end: and in this manner we may pray to our blessed Lady, to St John Baptist, to all and every of the Apostles or any other saint

^p that] wanting in C.

particularly, as our devotion doth serve us; so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same. And likewise we must keep holy-days unto God, in memory of Him and His saints, upon such days as the Church hath ordained their memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent and commandment of us^q, the supreme head, to the ordinaries, and then the subjects ought to obey it.

10

[IX.] *Of Rites and Ceremonies.*

As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's Church, as to have such vestments in doing God's service, as be and have been most part used, as sprinkling of holy water to put us in remembrance of our baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross; giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving of the holy sacrament and body of
 20 Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity, which in the beginning of Christ's Church men did more often receive than they use nowadays to do; bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, in memory of Christ the spiritual Light, of whom Simeon did prophesy, as is read in the church that day¹: giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance, that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return, which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother-tongue always on the same day; bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday, in memory of the receiving of Christ into Jerusalem, a little before His death, that we
 30 may have the same desire to receive Him into our hearts; creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good Friday before the cross, and there offering unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross; setting up the sepulture^r of Christ, whose body after His death was buried; the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and^s benedictions by the ministers of Christ's Church; and all other like laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remem-

^q us] *wanting in C.*^r sepulture] *sepulchre C.*^s exorcisms and] *wanting in C.*¹ [*i. e.* in the Gospel for the Feast of the Purification.]

brance of those spiritual things that they do signify¹; not suffering them to be forgot, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in our memories from time to time. But none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven.

[X.] *Of Purgatory.*

Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the Book of Maccabees, and divers ancient doctors plainly shew^t, that it is a very good and a charitable deed to pray for souls departed, and forasmuch also as such usage hath continued in the Church so many years, even from the beginning, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same, and that it standeth with the very due order of charity, a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause other to pray for them in masses and exequies, and to give alms to other to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain^u: but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to Almighty God, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition. Wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced, as to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome's pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that masses said at *Scala Cœli*², or elsewhere, in any place, or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven; and other like abuses.

LONDINI IN ÆDIBUS
THOMÆ BER
THELETI REGII IMPRES-
-SORIS.

^t shew] shewen B, F.

pain] sooner obtain the mercy of God and fruition of His glory C.

^u relieved and holpen of some part of their

¹ [See an interesting 'Book of Ceremonies' in which the *symbolical* import of Divine worship (as then practised) is illustrated at great length in Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i. App. 27, seqq.]

² [Three shrines, borrowing this name from the chapel of *Scala Cœli* at Rome, appear to have existed in England anterior to the Reformation. The first was King Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, the second was in the Church of St Botolph at Boston, the third was the chapel of our Lady in the church of the Augustine Friars at Norwich. See further illustrations in 'Notes and Queries,' No. 25, p. 402.]

[The following is the longer list of the signatures appended to the Articles of 1536 : see above, p. 50. It is here printed from Burnet *ubi sup.*, and agrees with the second of the lists preserved by Collier, except that the order of the names is occasionally altered. Like many similar documents of the age it is capable of furnishing the reader with a number of instructive facts.]

Signed,
Thomas Cromwell.

T. Cantuarien.
Edvardus Ebor.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmens.
Joannes Lincoln.
Joannes Lincoln. nomine procura-
torio pro dom. Joan. Exon.
Joannes Bathonien.
Hugo Wygornen.
Joannes Roffen.
Rich. Cicestren.
Thomas Elien.
Joannes Lincoln. nomine procura-
torio pro dom. Rowlando Coven.
et Lichfielden.
Joannes Bangoren.
Nicholaus Sarisburiens.
Edvardus Hereforden.
Willielmus Norwicensis.
Willielmus Meneven.
Robertus Assaphen.
Robertus abbas sancti Albani.
Willielmus ab. Westmonaster.
Joannes ab. Burien.
Richardus ab. Glasconiaë.
Hugo ab. de Redying.
Robertus ab. Malmesbur.
Clemens ab. Eveshamen.
Johannes ab. de Bello.
Willielmus ab. S. Petri Glocest.
Richardus ab. Winchelcombens.
Joannes ab. de Croyland.

Robertus ab. de Thorney.
Robertus ab. de Walnatham.
Joannes ab. Cirencest.
Joannes ab. Texber.
Thomas prior Coventr.

Joannes ab. de Oseney.
Henricus ab. de Gratiis.
Anthonius ab. de Eynsham.
Robertus prior Elien.
Robertus prior sive magister ordi-
nis de Sempringham.
Richardus ab. de Notteley.
Hugo prior de Huntynghdon.
Willielmus ab. de Stratford.
Gabriel ab. de Buckfesttria.
Henricus ab. de Wardenor.
Joannes prior de Merton.
Richardus pr. de Walsingham.
Thomas ab. de Gerendon.
Thomas ab. de Stanley.
Richardus ab. de Bytlesden.
Richardus pr. de Lanthoni.
Robertus ab. de Thame.
Joannes prior de Neweham.
Radulphus prior de Kyme.
Richardus ab. de Bruera.
Robertus ab. de Welhows.
Bartholameus pr. de Overey.
Willielmus pr. de Burgaveni.
Thomas ab. de Abendon.

Inferior Domus.

Ri. Gwent archidiaconus London,
 et Breck.
 Robertus Aldrydge archid. Colecest.
 Thomas Bedyll archid. Cornub.
 Richardus Strete archid. Derbiæ.
 David Pole ar. Salop.
 Richardus Doke archid. Sarum.
 Edmundus Bonner archid. Leyces-
 triæ.
 Thomas Baghe archid. Surr.
 Gamaliel Clyfton decanus Hereford.
 et proc. capit.
 Joannes London decanus Walling-
 ford.
 Nicholas Metcalf. archid. Roffens.
 Richardus Layton archid. Bucks.
 Hugo Coren proc. cleri Hereford.
 Richardus Sparcheford proc. cleri
 Hereford.
 Mauritius Griffith proc. cleri Rof-
 fen.
 Gulielmus Buckmastre procurator
 cleri London.
 Richardus Rawson archid. Essex.
 Edmundus Cranmer archid. Cant.
 Polidorus Vergilius archid. Wellen.
 Richardus Coren archid. Oxon.
 Henricus Morgan procurator cleri
 Lincoln.
 Petrus Vannes archid. Wygornen.
 Georgius Hennage decanus Lincoln.
 Milo Spencer procurator cleri Nor-
 wicen.
 Willelmus Knyght archid. Cestriæ.
 Nicolaus Metcalf archid. Roffen.
 Willmus Hedge procurator cleri
 Norwicen.

Adam Traves archid. Exon.
 Richardus Woleman dec. Wellen.
 Tho. Brerewood archidiacan. Bar.
 procur. capituli et cleri Exon.
 Georgius Carew archid. Totton
 proc. capituli et cleri Exon.
 Thomas Bennet proc. cleri et capit.
 Sarum.
 Richardus Arche proc. cleri et
 capit. Sarum.
 Petrus Ligham pr. cleri Cant.
 Edmundus Steward proc. cleri
 Winton.
 Joannes Rayne pr. cleri Lincoln.
 Leonardus Savile proc. cleri archid.
 Lewen.
 Simon Matthew pr. cleri London.
 Humfrid. Ogle archid. Salop.
 Gulielmus Maye proc. cleri Elien.
 Rolandus Phylips proc. capituli
 eccles. St. Pauli London.
 Joannes Bell ar. Glocest.
 Richardus Shelton mag. colleg. de
 Metyngham ; per me Willielmum
 Glyn. archi. Anglessem.
 Robertus Evans decan. Bangoren.
 Walterus Cretyng ar. Bathonien.
 Thomas Bagard procurator cleri
 Wygornen.
 Joannes Nase proc. cleri Bathon.
 et Wellen.
 Georgius Wyndam archid. Norwi-
 cen.
 Joannes Chambre dec. St. Stephani
 archid. Bedford.
 Nicolaus Wilson.

APPENDIX

No. II.

A BOOK

CONTAINING

DIVERS ARTICLES, DE UNITATE DEI ET TRINITATE
PERSONARUM, DE PECCATO ORIGINALI, &c.

For some account of the origin and importance of these Articles, see above, pp. 68 seqq. They are now reprinted from Dr Jenkyns' edition of *Cranmer*, iv. 273 seqq., and, as in that work, the passages or phrases which have reappeared in the Edwardine Articles, are denoted by *Italics*. Six of the *Thirteen Articles*, as we have seen already, p. 72 note (3), were printed by Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i., App. No. cxii., but with considerable variations. A few of the more important are appended to the several Articles in question: while the portions of the document which are almost identical with the *Augsburg Confession* have been included between [...].

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Judicio Extremo. |
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10 I. De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum¹.

[[De Unitate Essentiæ Divinæ et de Tribus Personis, censemus decretum Nicenæ Synodi verum, et sine ulla dubitatione credendum esse, videlicet, quod sit una Essentia Divina, quæ et appellatur et est *Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, Creator et Conservator omnium rerum visibilium et invisibilium*, et tamen *tres sint personæ ejusdem essentiæ et potentiæ*, et coæternæ, *Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus*; et nomine personæ utimur ea significatione qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit. Damnamus omnes hæreses contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manicheos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum: item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas, et omnes horum similes. Damnamus et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui cum tantum unam personam esse contendunt, de Verbo et Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personæ distinctæ, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.]]

II. De *Peccato Originali*².

[[Omnes homines, secundum naturam *propagati*, nascuntur cum peccato originali; hoc est cum carentia *originalis justitiæ* debitæ inesse, unde sunt filii iræ, et deficiunt cognitione Dei, metu Dei, fiducia erga Deum, etc. Et habent concupiscentiam, repugnantem legi Dei; estque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque æternam mortem his qui non renascuntur per Baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum. Damnamus Pelagianos, et alios, qui vitium ori-

¹ Confess. August. Part I. § 1.

² Ibid. § 11. The extent of the Fall is stated less strongly in the English than in the German Article.

ginis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, disputant hominem viribus naturalibus sine Spiritu Sancto posse legi Dei satisfacere, et propter honesta opera rationis pronunciari justum coram Deo.]]

III. De Duabus Christi Naturis¹.

[[Item docemus, quod *Verbum*, hoc est *Filius Dei*, *assumpserit humanam naturam in utero Beatae Mariæ Virginis*, ut sint *duæ naturæ, divina et humana, in unitate personæ inseparabiliter conjunctæ unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo*, natus ex Virgine Maria, *vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem*, et *hostia* 10 *esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis*. Item *descendit ad inferos, et vere resurrexit* tertia die, deinde *ascendit ad cælos*, ut *sedeat ad dexteram Patris* et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corde eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur, ac vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus Diabolum et vim peccati. Idem Christus palam est rediturus ut judicet vivos et mortuos, &c. juxta Symbolum Apostolorum.]]

IV. De Justificatione².

Item de Justificatione docemus, quod ea proprie significat remis- 20 sionem peccatorum et acceptationem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam et favorem Dei, hoc est veram renovationem in Christo; et quod peccatores, licet non assequantur hanc justificationem absque pœnitentia, et bono ac propenso motu cordis quem Spiritus Sanctus efficit erga Deum et proximum, [[non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum pœnitentiæ aut ullorum operum seu meritorum suorum justificantur, sed gratis propter Christum per fidem, cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso. Rom. 3°. et 4°]]. Fidem vero intelligimus non inanem et 30 otiosam, sed eam “quæ per dilectionem operatur.” Est enim vera et Christiana fides de qua hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, aut credulitas doctrinæ Christianæ duntaxat historica, sed una cum illa notitia et credulitate, firma fiducia misericordiæ Dei promissæ propter Christum, qua videlicet certo persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordem et propitium. Et hæc fides vere justificat, vere est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, aut hypocritica, sed necessario habet spem et charitatem sibi individue conjunctas, ac etiam studium bene vivendi, et bene operatur pro loco et occasione. Nam bona opera ad salutem

¹ Confess. August. § III.

² Ibid. §§ IV. V.

sunt necessaria, non quod de impio justum faciunt, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis, sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat juxta illud: "Non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine, Domine, intrabit regnum coelorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in coelis est." Qui vero hæc opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neque veram fidem habet, neque justus est, neque vitam æternam (nisi ex animo resipiscat, et vere poeniteat) assequetur^a.

- 10 [[Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi Evangelii et porrigendi Sacramenta. Nam per verbum et sacramenta tanquam per instrumenta donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in his qui audiunt Evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita sed propter Christum justificet poenitentes, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi. Damnamus Anabaptistas, et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum præparationes et opera.]]

V. De Ecclesia.

- Ecclesia præter alias acceptiones in scripturis duas habet præcipuas:
 20 unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium sanctorum et vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere credunt et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus. Hæc autem vivum^b est et vere sanctum Christi corpus mysticum, sed soli Deo cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christo et non palam abnegarunt Christum, nec juste et per ejus verbum^c sunt excommunicati. Ista Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus statui in hac vita duntaxat, in qua boni malis sunt admixti et debet esse cognita ut possit audiri juxta illud: "Qui Ecclesiam non audierit," &c. Cognoscitur autem per professionem Evangelii et
 30 communionem sacramentorum. ^dHæc est Ecclesia catholica et apostolica, quæ non Episcopatus Romani aut cujusvis alterius Ecclesiæ finibus circumscribitur, sed universas totius Christianismi complectitur Ecclesias, quæ simul unam efficiunt catholicam. In hac autem catholica Ecclesia nulla particularis Ecclesia, sive Romana illa fuerit, sive quævis alia, ex institutione Christi supra alias Ecclesias eminentiam vel auctoritatem ullam vindicare potest. Est vero hæc Ecclesia una, non quod in terris unum aliquod caput, seu unum quendam vicarium sub Christo habeat aut habuerit unquam, (quod sibi jam diu Pontifex Romanus divini juris prætextu vindicavit, cum tamen revera divino jure nihil

^a *The rest wanting.*

^b *vivum] una.*

^c *juste et per ejus verbum] wanting.*

^d *The rest as far as Traditiones wanting.*

amplius illa sit concessum quam alii cuivis episcopo,) sed ideo una dicitur, quia universi Christiani in vinculo pacis colligati unum caput Christum agnoscunt, cujus se profitentur esse corpus, unum agnoscunt Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptisma, unum Deum ac Patrem omnium.

Traditiones vero, et ritus, atque ceremoniæ, quæ vel ad decorem vel ordinem vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est ut eædem sint ubique aut prorsus similes. Hæ enim et variæ fuere, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus, ordo, et utilitas Ecclesiæ videbuntur postulare: 10

^e[Hæ enim et *variæ fuere*, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus decensque ordo principibus rectoribusque regionum videbuntur postulare; ita tamen ut nihil varietur aut instituat^r contra verbum Dei manifestum.]

Et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem [[*mali sint bonis admixti, atque etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum nonnunquam præsint*]]; tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato, et auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo quam in recipiendis sacramentis juxta illud: "Qui vos audit, me audit." Nec per eorum malitiam minuitur effectus, aut gratia donorum 20 Christi rite accipientibus; [[*sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.*]]

VI. De Baptismo¹.

De Baptismo dicimus, quod Baptismus a Christo sit institutus, et [[sit necessarius ad salutem, et quod per Baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum et gratia Christi]], infantibus et adultis. Et quod non debeat iterari Baptismus. Et quod infantes debeant baptizari. Et quod infantes per Baptismum consequantur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, et sint filii Dei, quia promissio gratiæ et vitæ æternæ pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et hæc promissio per ministerium in 30 Ecclesia infantibus et adultis administrari debet. Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato originis, habent opus remissione illius peccati, et illud ita remittitur ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturæ seu concupiscentia manet in hac vita, etsi incipit sanari, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax et eos mundat^f. Probamus igitur sententiam Ecclesiæ quæ damnavit Pelagianos, quia negabant infantibus esse peccatum originis. [[Damnamus et Anabaptistas qui negant infantes

^e The following paragraph is written on a loose slip of paper, as if subsequently added. In Strype's version we have, Sic tamen ut sint con-

sentientes Verbo Dei.

^f mundat] mundat suo quodam modo.

¹ Conf. August. § ix.

baptizandos esse]]. De adultis vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur per Baptismum remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint poenitentiam veram, confessionem articulorum fidei, et credant vere ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum et justificationem propter Christum, sicut Petrus ait in Actis: "Poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti."

VII. De Eucharistia¹.

De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento
10 corporis et sanguinis Domini, [vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi] sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis.

VIII. De Poenitentia².

Summam et ineffabilem suam erga peccatores clementiam et misericordiam Deus Opt. Max. apud Prophetam declarans hisce verbis, "Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus, nolo mortem impii, sed ut impius convertatur a via sua et vivet," ut hujus tantæ clementiæ ac misericordiæ peccatores participes efficerentur, saluberrime instituit Poenitentiam, quæ sit
20 omnibus resipiscentibus velut antidotum quoddam et efficax remedium adversus desperationem et mortem. Cujus quidem Poenientiæ tantam necessitatem esse fatemur, ut quotquot a Baptismo in mortalia peccata prolapsi sint, nisi in hac vita resipiscentes Poenitentiam egerint, æternæ mortis judicium effugere non poterint. Contra [vero] qui ad misericordiam Dei per Poenitentiam tanquam ad asylum confugerint, quantiscunque peccatis obnoxii sunt, si ab illis serio conversi Poenitentiam egerint, peccatorum omnium veniam ac remissionem indubie consequentur. Porro quoniam peccare a nobis est, resurgere vero a peccatis, Dei opus est et donum, valde utile et necessarium esse arbitramur docere, et
30 cujus beneficium sit ut veram salutaremque Poenitentiam agamus, et quænam illa sit ac quibus ex rebus constet, de qua loquimur Poenitentia.

Dicimus itaque Poenientiæ per quam peccator a morte animæ resurgit, et denuo in gratiam cum Deo redit, Spiritum Sanctum auctorem esse et effectorem, nec quemquam posse sine hujus arcano afflatu, peccata sua salutariter vel agnoscere vel odio habere, multo minus remissionem peccatorum a Deo sperare aut assequi. Qui quidem sacer

¹ Conf. Aug. § x.: see above p. 71.

² Strype has printed two Articles *de Poenitentia*, the second of which is on the whole, though not verbally, in accordance with the present.

Spiritus Pœnitentiæ initium, progressum, et finem, cæteraque omnia quæ veram Pœnitentiam perficiunt in anima peccatrice, hoc (quem docebimus) ordine ac modo operatur et efficit.

Principio, facit ut peccator per verbum peccata sua agnoscat, et veros conscientiæ terrores concipiat, dum sentit Deum irasci peccato, utque serio et ex corde doleat ac ingemiscat, quod Deum offenderit; quam peccati agnitionem, dolorem, et animi pavorem ob Deum offensum, sequitur peccati confessio, quæ fit Deo dum rea conscientia peccatum suum Deo confitetur, et sese apud Deum accusat et damnat, et sibi petit ignosci. Psalm. 31. "Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et 10 injustitiam meam non abscondi. Dixi, confitebor adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei." Atque hæc coram Deo confessio conjunctam habet certam fiduciam misericordiæ divinæ et remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, qua fiducia conscientia jam erigitur et pavore liberatur, ac certo statuit Deum sibi esse propitium, non merito aut dignitate pœnitentiæ, aut suorum operum, sed ex gratuita misericordia propter Christum, qui solus est hostia, satisfactio, ac unica propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. Ad hæc adest et certum animi propositum vitam totam in melius commutandi, ac studium faciendi voluntatem Dei et perpetuo abstinendi a peccatis. Nam 20 vitæ novitatem sive fructus dignos Pœnitentiæ ad totius Pœnitentiæ perfectionem necessario requirit Deus, juxta illud, Rom. 6^o: "Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiæ et iniquitati, ad iniquitatem, ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiæ, in sanctificationem."

Atque hæc quidem omnia, agnitionem peccati, odium peccati, dolorem pavoremque pro peccatis, peccati coram Deo confessionem, firmam fiduciam remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, una cum certo animi proposito postea semper a peccatis per Dei gratiam abstinendi et serviendi justitiæ, Spiritus Sanctus in nobis operatur et efficit, modo nos 30 illius afflatui obsequamur, nec gratiæ Dei nos ad Pœnitentiam invitanti repugnemus.

Cæterum cum has res quæ Pœnitentiam efficiunt maxima pars Christiani populi ignoret, nec quomodo agenda sit vera Pœnitentia intelligat, nec ubi speranda sit remissio peccatorum norit, ut in his rebus omnibus melius instituatur et doceatur, non solum concionatores et pastores diligenter in publicis concionibus populum de hac re informare, et quid sit vera Pœnitentia, ex sacris literis sincere prædicare debent, verum etiam valde utilem ac summe necessariam esse dicimus peccatorum confessionem, quæ auricularis dicitur, et privatim fit ministris 40 Ecclesiæ.

Quæ sane confessio modis omnibus in Ecclesia retinenda est et mag-

nifacienda, cum propter hominum imperitorum institutionem in verbo Dei, et alia commoda non pauca, (de quibus mox dicemus) tum præcipue propter absolutionis beneficium, hoc est remissionem peccatorum, quæ in hac confessione confitentibus offertur et exhibetur per absolutionem et potestatem clavium, juxta illud Christi, Joan. 20. "Quorum remiseritis peccata," &c. Cui absolutioni certo oportet credere. Est enim vox Evangelii, qua minister per verbum, non suo sed Christi nomine et autoritate, remissionem peccatorum confitenti annuntiat ac offert. Cui voci Evangelii per ministrum sonanti, dum confitens certa
 10 fide credit et assentitur, illico conscientia ejus fit certa de remissione peccatorum, et jam certo secum statuit Deum sibi propitium ac misericordem esse. Quæ una profecto res Christianos omnes magnopere debet permovere, ut confessionem, in qua per absolutionem gratiæ et remissionis peccatorum certitudo concipitur et confirmatur, modis omnibus et ament et amplectantur. Et in hac privata absolutione sacerdos potestatem habet absolvendi confitentem ab omnibus peccatis, etiam illis qui soliti sunt vocari casus reservati, ita tamen ut ille privatim absolutus, nihilominus pro manifestis criminibus (si in jus vocetur) publicis judiciis subiaceat.

20 Accedunt huc et alia confessionis arcanæ commoda, quorum unum est, quod indocti ac imperiti homines nusquam [commodius] aut melius quam in confessione de doctrina Christiana institui possint, [modo confessorem doctum et pium nacti fuerint.] Nam cum animos attentos ac dociles in confessione afferunt, diligenter ad ea quæ a sacerdote dicuntur animum advertunt. Quocirca et fides eorum explorari potest, et quid peccatum sit, quamque horrenda res sit, et quæ sint peccatorum inter se discrimina, ac quam graviter contra peccata irascitur Deus, a doctis ac piis pastoribus seu confessoribus [ex verbo Dei] doceri possunt ac informari. Multi enim, propterea quod hæc ignorent, in conscientiis
 30 sæpe graviter anguntur, illic trepidantes timore, ubi timor non est, qui (ut Servator ait) "culicem excolantes, camelum deglutiunt;" in minimis levissimisque peccatis valde anxii, de maximis et gravissimis non perinde poenitentes. Sunt porro qui simili laborantes inscitia propter immodicum timorem et animi pusillanimitatem de peccatorum venia fere desperant. Contra sunt, qui per hypocrisim superbientes seipsos adversus Deum erigunt, quasi aut sine peccato sint, aut ipsos pro peccatis Deus nolit punire.

Jam quis nescit quam utilis et necessaria istiusmodi hominibus confessio sit, in qua hi verbo Dei dure increpandi arguendique sunt, ut
 40 peccatores se agnoscant, atque intelligant, quam horribiliter Deus peccata puniat. Contra, illis qui nimio timore desperant, suavissima Evangelii consolatio afferenda est. Ad hæc in confessione [ex verbo Dei]

doceri homines possunt, non solum qua ratione Diaboli tentationes vincant, et carnem mortificent, ne ad priores vitæ sordes postea relabantur, verumetiam quibus remediis peccata omnia fugiant, ut non regnent in ipsis. Præterea illa animi humilitas qua homo homini propter Deum sese submittit, et pectoris sui arcana aperit, multarum profecto virtutum custos est et conservatrix. Quid quod pudor ille et erubescencia peccati quæ ex confessione oritur, præterquam quod animum a peccato ad Deum vere conversum indicat, etiam multos mortales a turpibus factis retrahit ac cohibet. Postremo, ut ille qui simpliciter et tanquam coram Deo peccato sua ministro Ecclesiæ confitetur, declarat 10 se verum Dei timorem habere, ita hac animi humilitate discit Deum magis et timere et revereri, et innatam in corde superbiam reprimere, ut Dei voluntati facilius obsequatur et obtemperet. Jam vero, cum hæc ita se habeant, nihil dubitamus, quin omnes viri boni hanc confessionem tot nominibus utilem ac necessariam, non solum in Ecclesia retinendam esse, sed magno etiam in pretio habendam judicent. Quod si qui sunt qui eam vel damnant, vel rejiciunt, hi profecto se et in verbo Dei institutionem, et absolutionis beneficium, (quod in confessione datur) et alia multa atque ingentia commoda Christianis valde utilia, negligere et contemnere ostendunt; nec animadvertunt se in orbem Christianum max- 20 imam peccandi licentiam invehere, et magnam in omne scelus ruendi occasionem præbere.

Quod vero ad enumerationem peccatorum spectat, quemadmodum non probamus scrupulosam et anxiam, ne laqueum injiciat hominum conscientiis, ita censemus segnem et supinam negligentiam in re tam salutari magnopere periculosam esse et fugiendam.

[IX.] De Sacramentorum Usu¹.

[[Docemus, quod *Sacramenta* quæ *per verbum Dei instituta* sunt, non tantum sint notæ professionis inter Christianos, sed magis certa quædam testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ, et bonæ voluntatis Dei erga 30 nos, per quæ Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis, et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus; quodque per ea excitatur et confirmatur fides in his qui eis utuntur. Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit sacramentis, ut in adultis, præter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat accedere fides, quæ credat præsentibus promissionibus, quæ per sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur, et præstantur.]] Neque enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam *ex opere operato* sine bono motu utentis, nam in

¹ Confess. August. § XIII.: but the English statement by introducing the epithet 'efficacia' and the phrase 'per quæ Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis' expresses the doctrine of the sacraments more strongly.

ratione utentibus necessum^g est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus, et accipiat res promissas, quæ per sacramenta conferantur^h. De infantibus vero cum temerarium sit eos a misericordia Dei excludere, præsertim cum Christus in Evangelio dicat, “Sinite parvulos ad me venire, talium est enim regnum cœlorum:” et alibi, “Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cœlorum:” cumque perpetua Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consuetudine, jam inde ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus, receptum sit infantes debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum et salutem, dicimus quod
 10 Spiritus Sanctus efficax sit in illis, et eos in Baptismo mundet, quemadmodum supra in Articulo de Baptismo dictum est.

[X.] De Ministris Ecclesiæ¹.

[[De Ministris Ecclesiæ docemus, quod nemo debeat *publice* docere, aut *Sacramenta ministrare, nisi rite vocatus,*] et quidem ab his, penes quos in *Ecclesia*, juxta verbum Dei, et leges ac consuetudines uniuscujusque regionis, jus est *vocandi* et admittendi. Et quod nullus ad Ecclesiæ ministerium vocatus, etiamsi episcopus sit sive Romanus, sive quicumque alius, hoc sibi jure divino vindicare possit, ut publice docere, Sacramenta ministrare, vel ullam aliam ecclesiasticam functionem in
 20 aliena diocesi aut parochia exercere valeat; hoc est, nec episcopus in alterius episcopi diocesi, nec parochus in alterius parochia. Et demum quod malitia ministri efficaciam Sacramentorum nihil detrahat, ut jam supra docuimus in Articulo de Ecclesia.

[XI.] De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis².

[[Ritus, ceremoniæ, et ordinationes ecclesiasticæ humanitus institutæ, quæcunque prosunt ad eruditionem, disciplinam, tranquillitatem, bonum ordinem, aut decorum in Ecclesia, servandæ sunt et amplectendæ, ut stata festa, jejunia, preces, et his similia.]]

De quibus admonendi sunt homines quod non sint illi cultus, quos
 30 Deus in Scriptura præcipit aut requirit, aut ipsa sanctimonia, sed quod ad illos cultus et ipsam sanctimoniam admodum utiles sunt, ac tum placent Deo, cum ex fide, charitate, et obedientia servantur. Sunt autem veri et genuini cultus, timor Dei, fides, dilectio, et cætera opera a Deo mandata. Ad quæ consequenda et præstanda, quoties ritus et traditiones adjumentum adferunt, diligenter servandæ sunt, non tanquam res in Scripturis a Deo exactæ, aut illis veris et genuinis cultibus æquandæ, sed tanquam res Ecclesiæ utiles, Deo gratæ, et adminicula veræ pietatis. Et quamvis ritus ac traditiones ejusmodi a Christianis

^g necessum] necessarium.

^h conferantur] conferuntur.

¹ Confess. August. § XIV.

² Ibid. § XV.

observari debeant, propter causas quas ante diximus, tamen in illarum observatione ea libertatis Christianæ ratio habenda est, ut nemo se illis ita teneri putet, quin eas possit omittere, modo adsit justa violandi ratio et causa, et absit contemptus: nec per ejusmodi violationem proximi conscientia turbetur aut lædatur. Quod si ejusmodi ritus aut ordinationes alio animo ac consilio instituuntur, aut observantur, quam ut sint exercitia quædam, admonitiones, et pædagogicæ, quæ excitent et conducant ad eas res in quibus sita est vera pietas et justitia; nos talem institutionem et observationem omnino improbandam et rejiciendam esse dicimus. Non enim remissio peccatorum, justificatio, et vera pietas 10 tribuenda est ejusmodi ritibus et traditionibus, (nam remissionem peccatoris et justificationem propter Christum gratis per fidem consequimur) sed hoc illis tribuendum est, quod quemadmodum nec sine legibus politicis civitas, ita nec sine ritibus ac traditionibus Ecclesiæ ordo servari, confusio vitari, juvenus ac vulgus imperitum erudiri potest, quodque ejusmodi ritus et traditiones ad pietatem et spirituales animi motus non parum adminiculantur et prosunt. Quod si ullæ traditiones aliquid præcipiunt contra verbum Dei, vel quod sine peccato præstari non potest, nos ejusmodi traditiones, tanquam noxias et pestiferas, ab Ecclesia tollendas esse censemus: impias etiam opiniones et supersti- 20 tiones quæ Christi gloriam ac beneficium lædunt atque obscurant, quoties vel populi ignorantia ac simplicitate, vel prava doctrina aut negligentia pastorum, traditionibus ullis annectuntur et hærent, rescandas penitus et abolendas esse judicamus. Præterea etiam hoc docendi sunt homines, quod ejusmodi rituum ac traditionum externa observatio Deo minime grata sit, nisi his, qui illis utuntur, animus adsit qui eas referat ad pietatem, propter quam institutæ sunt. Ad hæc, quod inter præcepta Dei, et ritus sive traditiones quæ ab hominibus instituuntur, hoc discrimen habendum sit, nempe quod ritus sive traditiones humanitus institutæ, mandatis ac præceptis Dei (quæ in Scripturis traduntur) 30 cedere semper et postponi ubique debeant. Et nihilominus quoniam ordo et tranquillitas Ecclesiæ absque ritibus et ceremoniis conservari non potest, docemus adeo utile esse et necessarium, Ecclesiam habere ritus et ceremonias, ut si ab Ecclesia tollerentur, ipsa illico Ecclesia et dissiparetur et labefactaretur.

Postremo ritus, ceremoniæ, sive traditiones, de quibus antea diximus, non solum propter causas prædictas, verumetiam propter præceptum Dei, qui jubet nos potestatibus obedire, servandæ sunt.

[XII.] De Rebus *Civilibus*.

Misera mortalium conditio peccato corrupta, præceptis ad iniquitatem 40 et ad flagitia ruit, nisi salubri auctoritate retineatur, nec potest publica

salus consistere, sine justa gubernatione et obedientia; quamobrem benignissimus Deus ordinavit reges, principes, ac gubernatores, quibus dedit auctoritatem non solum curandi ut populus juxta divinæ legis præscripta vivat, sed etiam legibus aliis reipublicæ commodis, et justa potestate eundem populum continendi ac regendi; hos autem in publicam salutem deputavit Deus, suos in terra ministros, et populi sui duces ac rectores, eisque subjecit universam cujusvis sortis multitudinem reliquam. Atque ob eam causam multa ac diligenter de illis in Scripturis tradit. Primum quidem, ut ipsi cœlestibus præceptis erudiantur
10 ad sapientiam et virtutem, quo sciant cujus sint ministri, et concessum a Deo judicium et auctoritatem legitime atque salubriter exercent; juxta illud, “Erudimini qui judicatis terram, servite Domino in timore.” Deinde vero præcipit, atque illis in hoc ipsum auctoritatem dat, ut pro conditione reipublicæ suæ, salutare ac justas leges (quoad pro virili possint) provideant atque legitime condant, per quas non solum æquitas, justitia, et tranquillitas in republica retineri, sed etiam pietas erga Deum promoveri possit; atque insuper ut legis Dei atque Christianæ religionis tuendæ curam habeant, quemadmodum Augustinus diserte fatetur, dicens, “In hoc reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo
20 serviunt, in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem.” Proinde principum ac gubernatorum potestas et officium est, non solum pro sua et reipublicæ incolumitate ac salute justa bella suscipere, probos amplecti et fovere, in improbos animadvertere, pauperes tueri, afflictos et vim passos eripere, arcere injurias, et ut ordo et concordia inter subditos conservetur, atque quod suum est cuique tribuatur curare; verum etiam prospicere, et (si causa ita postulaverit) etiam compellere, ut universi tam sacerdotes quam reliqua multitudo officiis suis rite et diligenter fungantur, omnem
30 denique operam suam adhibere, ut boni ad bene agendum invitentur, et improbi a malefaciendo cohibeantur. Et quamvis illi qui timore legum et pœnarum corporalium cohibentur a peccando, aut in officio continentur, non eo ipso fiunt pii vel accepti Deo; tamen hucusque proficit salubris coercio, ut et illi qui tales sunt, interim vel minus sint mali, vel saltem minus flagitiorum committant, viamque nonnunquam facilius inveniant ad pietatem, et reliquorum quies ac pietas minus turbetur, scandala et pernicioosa exempla auferantur a Christianis cœtibus, et apertis vitiis aut blasphemis nomen Dei et religionis decus quam minimum dehonestetur.

40 Ad hæc quia necessum est, ut auctoritatem principum, reipublicæ atque rebus humanis summopere necessariam, populus tanquam Dei ordinationem agnoscat et revereatur; idcirco Deus in Scripturis passim

præcipit, ut omnes cujuscunque in republica gradus aut conditionis fuerint, promptam et fidelem obedientiam principibus præstent, idque non solum metu corporalis poenæ, sed etiam propter Dei voluntatem; quemadmodum Petrus diligenter monet: "Subditi (inquiens) estote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Deum, sive regi quasi præcellenti, sive ducibus, tanquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, quia sic est voluntas Dei." Paulus vero in hunc modum; "Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, magistratibus parere, ad omne opus bonum paratos esse, neminem blasphemare." Quod si malus princeps aut gubernator quicquam injuste aut inique 10 imperat subdito, quamvis ille potestate sua contra Dei voluntatem abutatur, ut animam suam lædat, nihilominus subditus debet ejusmodi imperium, quantumvis grave, pati ac sustinere, (nisi certo constet id esse peccatum,) potius quam resistendo publicum ordinem aut quietem perturbare; quod si certo constet peccatum esse quod princeps mandat, tum subditus neque pareat neque reipublicæ pacem quovismodo perturbet, sed pace servata incolumi, et causæ ultione Deo relieta, vel ipsam potius mortem sustineat, quam quicquam contra Dei voluntatem aut præceptum perpetret.

Porro quemadmodum de obedientia principibus exhibenda Scriptura 20 diligenter præcipit, ita etiam ut cætera officia alacriter illis præstemus, monet atque jubet, qualia sunt tributa, vectigalia, militiæ labor, et his similia. Quæ populus, ex Dei præcepto, principibus pendere et præstare debet, propterea quod respublicæ absque stipendiis, præsidiis, et magnis sumptibus neque defendi possunt neque regi. Est præterea et honos principibus deferendus, juxta Pauli sententiam, qui jubet, ut principibus honorem exhibeamus. Qui sane honos non in externa duntaxat reverentia et observantia positus est, sed multo verius in animi judicio et voluntate; nempe ut agnoscamus principes a Deo ordinatos esse, et Deum per eos hominibus ingentia beneficia largiri: ad 30 hæc ut principes propter Deum et metuamus et amemus, et ut ad omnem pro viribus gratitudinem illis præstandam parati simus: postremo ut Deum pro principibus precemur, uti servet eos, ac eorum mentes semper inflectat ad Dei gloriam et salutem reipublicæ. Hæc si fecerimus, vere principes honorabimus, juxta Petri præceptum, "Deum timete, Regem honorificate." Quæ cum ita sint, non solum licet Christianis principibus ac gubernatoribus regna et ditiones possidere, atque dignitatibus et muneribus publicis fungi, quæ publicam salutem spectant, et undecunque promovent vel tuentur, uti supra diximus, verum etiam quando in ejusmodi functionibus respiciunt honorem Dei, et 40 eodem dignitatem suam atque potestatem referunt, valde placent Deo, ejusque favorem, ac gratiam ampliter demerentur. Sunt enim bona

opera quæ Deus præmiis magnificentissimis non in hac duntaxat vita, sed multo magis in æterna, cohonestat atque coronat.

Licet insuper Christianis universis, ut singuli quique pro suo gradu ac conditione juxta divinas ac principum leges et honestas singularum regionum consuetudines, talia munia atque officia obeant et exercent, quibus mortalis hæc vita vel indiget, vel ornatur, vel conservatur. Nempe ut victum quærant ex honestis artibus, negotientur, faciant contractus, possideant proprium, res suas jure postulent, militent, copulentur legitimo matrimonio, præstent jusjurandum et hujusmodi. Quæ
10 omnia, quemadmodum universis Christianis, pro sua cujusque conditione ac gradu, divino jure licita sunt, ita cum pii subditi propter timorem Dei, principibus ac gubernatoribus suis promptam atque debitam præstent obedientiam, cæteraque student peragere, quæ suum officium et reipublicæ utilitas postulat, placent etiam ipsi magnopere Deo, et bona faciunt opera, quibus Deus ingentia præmia promittit, et fidelissime largitur.

[XIII.] De Corporum Resurrectione et Judicio Extremo.

Credendum firmiter atque docendum censemus, quod in consummatione mundi, Christus sicut ipsemet apud Matthæum affirmat, venturus
20 est in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis, et majestate, ac potentia, sessurusque super sedem majestatis suæ. Et quod in eodem adventu, summa celeritate, in momento temporis, ictu oculi, divina potentia sua suscitabit mortuos, sistetque in eisdem in quibus hic vixerunt corporibus ac carne, coram tribunali suo cunctos homines, qui unquam ab exordio mundi fuerunt, aut postea unquam usque in illam diem futuri sunt. Et judicabit exactissimo atque justissimo judicio singulos, et reddet unicuique secundum opera sua, quæ in hac vita et corpore gessit: piis quidem ac justis æternam vitam et gloriam cum sanctis angelis, impiis vero et sceleratis æternam mortem atque supplicium, cum Diabolo et
30 prævaricatoribus angelis. Præterea quod in illo judicio perfecta et perpetua fiet separatio proborum ab improbis, et quod nullum erit postea terrenum regnum aut terrenarum voluptatum usus, qualia quidam errore decepti somniaverunt. Demum quod nullus post hoc judicium erit finis tormentorum malis, qui tunc condemnabuntur ad supplicia, sicut nec ullus finis beatitudinis bonis, qui in illo die acceptabuntur ad gloriam.

APPENDIX

No. III.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION

IN THE REIGNS OF

KING EDWARD VI. AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The following series of Articles comprise, (1) the Latin edition published *separately* by Wolfe, in 1553, (see above, p. 82); (2) the English edition published in the June of the same year by Grafton; (3) the Latin edition of Wolfe, published in 1563, by the authority of the Queen (see above, p. 138); (4) the English edition of 1571, printed by Jugge and Cawood, and 'put foorth by the Queenes auctoritie.'

The Articles of 1552 have been collated with a copy in the State-Paper Office, signed by the six royal chaplains to whom they were submitted before their final publication, (see above, p. 80), and also with a copy of the edition published by Wolfe, as an appendix to the 'Catechismus Brevis,' in 1553, (see above, p. 82). The various readings obtained from these sources are denoted by the letters *A* and *B* respectively. Other variations occur in the Articles of bishop Hooper, as circulated in his dioceses during the years 1551 and 1552, apparently both in Latin and English, (see above, pp. 83, 84): those contained in the record of his controversy with Joliffe, are denoted *J*.

In selecting the *Latin* Articles of 1562, and the *English* of 1571, the desire of the Editor was to exhibit the document in that shape which has the best claim to be considered authoritative: see above, p. 152. Collations have been drawn in the one case from the Parker *Latin* MS. of 1562, and from the Latin edition of 1571, printed by John Day, and published 'authoritate serenissimæ Reginae;' in the other from the Parker *English* MS. of 1571, and also from the English version of the Articles of 1562, entitled in the Bill of 1566, the *Little Book*, (see above, p. 142). These various readings are distinguished by the letters *C*, *E*, *D*, and *LB*, respectively.

For the sake of facilitating comparison, the sets of Articles are arranged collaterally. Where new matter was introduced after the year 1552, attention is called to the change by a blank space included within brackets []; where the whole or part of any Article subsequently disappeared, it is printed in *larger type*; where the phraseology was modified, without involving the addition of entirely new matter, the extent of the substitution is denoted by † . . . †. In a few cases of simple *transposition*, the change will be pointed out by a foot-note.

ARTICLES, 1552—1571.

1552.

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, *Anno Dom. M.D.LII.* ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos et alios Eruditos Viros convenerat¹.

1562.

Articuli, de quibus in synodo Londinensi anno Domini, iuxta ecclesiæ Anglicanæ computationem, M.D.LXII. ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, et firmandum in uera Religione consensum, inter Archiepiscopos Episcoposque utriusque Prouinciæ, nec non etiam uniuersum Clerum convenit.

1552.

Articles agreed on by the Bishoppes, and other learned menne in the Synode at London, in the yere of our Lorde Godde, M.D.LII. for the auoiding of controuersie in opinions, and the establishment of a godlie concord, in certeine matiers of Religion.

1571.

Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishoppes and Bishoppes of both prouinces and the whole cleargie, in the Conuocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God. 1562. according to the computation of the Church of Englande, for the auiding of the diuersities of opinions, and for the stablshyng of consent touching true Religion.

¹ *B adds, regia autoritate in lucem editi.*

1552.

I.

De fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem.

Unus est vivus et verus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensæ potentiae, sapientiae, ac bonitatis, creator et conservator omnium, tum¹ visibilium tum invisibilium. Et in unitate hujus divinæ naturæ tres sunt personæ, ejusdem essentiae, potentiae, ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.

II.

Verbum Dei, verum hominem esse factum.

Filius qui est verbum patris, [] in utero beatæ Virginis, ex illius³ substantiâ naturam humanam assumpsit, ita ut duæ naturæ, divina & humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate personæ fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ, ex quibus est unus *Christus*, verus Deus et verus homo, qui vere passus est, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque hostia non tantum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

III.

De descensu Christi ad Inferos.

Quemadmodum *Christus* pro nobis mortuus est et sepultus, ita est etiam credendus⁴ ad inferos descendisse. Nam corpus usque ad

1552.

I.

Of faith in the holie Trinitie.²

There is but one liuing, and true God, and he is euerlasting, without bodie, partes, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker, and preseruer of all things bothe visible, and invisible, and in vnitie of this Godhead there bee three persones of one substaunce, power, and eternitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghoste.

II.

That the worde, or Sonne of God, was made a very man.

The sonne whiche is the woorde of the father, [] tooke mannes nature in the wombe of the blessed virgine Marie of her Substaunce, so that two hole, and perfeicte natures, that is to saie, the Godhead, and manhode were ioigned together into one persone, neuer to be diuided, wherof is one *Christe* very God, and very manne, who truely suffred, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to vs, and to be a Sacrifice † for all sinne of manne, bothe originall, and actual. †

III.

Of the goyng doune of Christe into Helle.

As Christ died, and was buried for vs: so also it is to be beleued, that he went downe in to hell. For the bodie laie in the Sepul-

¹ tum] cum *A*.² Cf. the 2nd of Hooper's Articles cited above, p. 87.³ illius] ejus *A*.⁴ est etiam credendus] etiam credendus est *A*.

1562.

I.

De Fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem.

Vnvs est viuus et uerus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensæ potentiæ, sapientiæ ac bonitatis: creator et conseruator omnium tum uisibilium tum inuisibilium. Et in Vnitate huius diuinæ naturæ tres sunt Personæ, eiusdem essentiæ, potentiæ, ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus sanctus.

II.

*Verbum Dei uerum hominem esse factum*⁶.

Filius, qui est uerbum Patris, ab æterno à patre genitus uerus et æternus Deus, ac Patri consubstantialis, in utero Beatæ uirginis ex illius substantia naturam humanam assumpsit: ita ut duæ naturæ, diuina et humana, integrè atque perfectè in unitate personæ, fuerint inseparabiliter coniunctæ: ex quibus est⁷ vnus CHRISTVS, uerus Deus et uerus Homo: qui uerè passus est, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut Patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque⁸ non tantùm pro culpa originis, uerum etiam pro omnibus Actualibus hominum peccatis.

III.

De Descensu Christi ad Inferos.

Quemmadmodum Christus pro nobis mortuus est et sepultus, ita est

1571.

I.

Of fayth in the holy Trinitie.

There is but one lyuyng and true God, ⁵euerlastyng, without body, partes, or passions, of infinite power, wysdome, and goodnesse, the maker and preseruer of al things both visible and inuisible. And in vnitie of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substaunce, power, and eternitie, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost.

II.

*Of the worde or sonne of God which was made very man*⁹.

The Sonne, which is the worde of the Father, begotten from euerlastyng of the Father, the very and eternall GOD, of one substaunce with the father, toke mans nature in the wombe of the blessed Virgin, of her substaunce: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and manhood, were ioyned together in one person, neuer to be diuided, whereof is one Christe, very GOD and very man, who truely suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to vs, and to be a sacrifice, not only for originall gylt, but also for all¹⁰ actuall sinnes of men.

III.

Of the goyng downe of Christe into hell.

As Christe dyed for vs, and was

⁵ *D and LB add and he is before euerlasting: cf. col. 2.*

⁶ *De verbo, siue filio Dei, qui uerus homo factus est E.*

⁷ *est] et C.*

⁸ *essetque] A inserts hostia after this word, agreeing with the other copies. The omission, therefore, might be due to an error of the press.*

⁹ *That the Worde or Sonne of God was made verie man D, LB.*

¹⁰ *all] The omission of this important word in many modern copies of the Articles is without the least authority.*

1552.

resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit, Spiritus ab illo emissus, cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur, fuit, illisque prædicavit, quemmadmodum testatur Petri locus¹.

IV.

Resurrectio Christi.

Christus vere à mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit, cum quibus in cælum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad judicandos [] homines †revertatur.†

[

]

V.

Divinæ Scripturæ doctrina sufficit ad salutem.

Scriptura sacra continet² omnia quæ sunt ad salutem necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur neque inde probari potest, licet interdum à fidelibus, ut pium et conducibile ad ordinem et decorum³ admittatur, attamen †à quoquam non exigendum est† ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur⁴, et ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur.[

1552.

chre, untill the resurrection: but his Ghoste departing from him, was with the Ghostes that were in prison, or in Helle, and didde preache to the same, as the place of .S. Peter dooeth testifie.

IV.

The Resurrection of Christe.

Christe didde truelie rise againe from deathe, and tooke again his bodie with flesh, bones, and all thinges apperteining to the perfection of mannes nature, wherewith he ascended into Heauen, and there sitteth, untill he retourne to iudge [] men at the last daie.

[

]

V.

The doctrine of holie Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.

Holie Scripture conteineth all thinges necessarie to Salvation: So that whatsoeuer is †neither† read therein, nor maie be proued therby, although it be sometime receiued of the faithful, as Godlie, and profitable for an ordre, and comelinesse: Yeat† no manne ought to bee constreigned to beleue it†, as an article of faith, or repute it †requisite to the necessitie† of Salvation.[

¹ The following sentence is added in A. At suo ad inferos descensu nullos a carceribus aut tormentis liberauit Christus Dominus.

² continet] sufficienter continet J.

³ ad ordinem et decorum] wanting in J.

⁴ credatur] tradatur A.

1562.

est etiam credendus ad Inferos descendisse⁵.

1571.

buried⁶: so also it is to be beleued that he went downe into hell.

IV.

*Resurrectio Christi*⁷.

Christus vere a mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit, cum quibus in cœlum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad iudicandos [] homines reuersurus sit.

V.

De Spiritu sancto.

Spiritus sanctus, à patre et filio procedens, eiusdem est cum patre et filio essentiæ, maiestatis, et gloriæ, uerus, ac æternus Deus.

VI.

*Diuinæ Scripturæ doctrina sufficit ad salutem*¹¹.

Scriptura sacra continet omnia quæ sunt ad salutem¹² necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur, neque inde probari potest, non sit à quaquam exigendum, ut tanquam Ar-

IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christe.

Christe dyd truely aryse⁸ agayne from death, and toke agayne his body, with flesh, bones, and all thinges apparteyning to the perfection of mans nature, wherewith he ascended into heauen, and there sitteth, vntyll he returne to iudge all⁹ men at the last day.

V.

Of the holy ghost.

The holy ghost, proceedyng from the father and the sonne, is of one substaunce¹⁰, maiestie, and glorie, with the father and the sonne, very and eternall God.

VI.

*Of the sufficiencie of the holy Scriptures for saluation*¹³.

Holye Scripture conteyneth all thinges necessarie to saluation: so that whatsoeuer is not read therein, nor may be proued therby, is not to be required of anye man, that it

⁵ The second clause of Art. III. col. 1 retained in C, but marked throughout with a red pencil.

⁶ dyed for vs and was buried] dyed and was buried for us LB: cf. col. 2.

⁷ De Resurrectione Christi E.

⁸ aryse] ryse LB: cf. col. 2.

⁹ all] wanting in Latin copies of 1562, but found in E: cf. cols. 1 and 2.

¹⁰ substaunce] essence LB.

¹¹ De Diuinis Scripturis, quod sufficient ad salutem E.

¹² sunt ad salutem] ad salutem sunt E.

¹³ The doctrine of holye Scripture is sufficient to saluation LB, D.

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ticulus fidei credatur, aut ad necessitatem salutis¹ requiri putetur.

Sacræ Scripturæ nomine eos Canonicos libros Veteris et Novi testamenti intelligimus, de quorum autoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.

*Catalogus librorum sacræ Canonice scripturæ Veteris Testamenti*².

Genesis.
Exodus.
Leuiticus.
Numeri.
Deuteronom.
Iosue.
Iudicum.
Ruth.
2. Regum³.
Paralipom. 2.
2 Samuelis.
Esdræ. 2.
Hester.
Iob.
Psalmi.
Prouerbia.
Ecclesiastes.
Cantica.
Prophetæ maiores.
Prophetæ minores.

Alios autem Libros (ut ait Hieronymus) legit quidem Ecclesia ad exempla uitæ et formandos mores, illos tamen ad dogmata con-

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shoulde be beleued as an article of the fayth, or be thought requisite necessarie⁴ to saluation.

In the name⁵ of holy Scripture, we do vnderstande those Canonically bookes of the olde and newe Testament, of whose auctoritie was neuer any doubt in the Church.

*Of*⁶ *the names and number of the Canonically Bookes.*

Genesis.
Exodus.
Leuiticus.
Numerie.
Deuteronomium.
Iosue.
Iudges.
Ruth.
The .1. booke of Samuel.
The .2. booke of Samuel.
The .1. booke of Kinges.
The .2. booke of Kinges.
The .1. booke of Chroni.
The .2. booke of Chroni.
The .1. booke of Esdras.
The .2. booke of Esdras.
The booke of Hester.
The booke of Iob.
The Psalmes.
The Prouerbes.
Ecclesia. or preacher.
Cantica, or songes of Sa.
4. Prophetes the greater.
12. Prophetes the lesse.

And the other bookes, (as Hierome sayth) the Church doth reade for example of lyfe and instruction of maners⁷: but yet doth

¹ necessitatem salutis] *transposed in E.*

² De nominibus, et numero librorum sacræ canonice Scripturæ Veteris Testamenti *E.*

³ 2 Regum] *The order of the following books is slightly different in C, E.*

⁴ requisite necessarie] requisite as necessary *LB, D: cf. col. 2.*

⁵ In the name] By the naming *LB.*

⁶ Of] *wanting in LB, D.*

⁷ example of lyfe and instruction of maners] example and for good instruction of lyuing *LB.*

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VI.

Vetus Testamentum † non est rejiciendum †.

† Testamentum Vetus, quasi Novo contrarium sit, non est repudiandum, sed retinendum, quandoquidem tam in veteri quàm in novo per *Christum* qui unicus est Mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et homo, æterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare non sunt audiendi, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt †.
[

VI.

The olde Testamente † is not to be refused †.

† The olde Testament is not to bee put awaie as though it were contrarie to the newe, but to be kept still: for bothe in the olde, and newe Testaments, euerlasting life is offred to mankinde by Christ, who is the onelie mediatour betwene Godde and manne, being bothe Godde, and manne. Wherefore thei are not to be hearde, whiche feigne that the olde Fathers didde looke onely for transitorie promises †.
[

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firmanda non adhibet : ut sunt
 Tertius et quartus Esdræ.
 Sapientia.
 Iesus filius Syrach.
 Tobias. Iudith.
 Libri Machabæorum. 2.
 [

]

Noui Testamenti Libros omnes¹
 (ut uulgo recepti sunt) recipimus
 et habemus pro Canonicis.

VII.

De Veteri Testamento.

Testamentum vetus Nouo contrarium non est, quandoquidem tam in veteri quàm nouo⁴, per Christum, qui vnicus est mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et Homo, æterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare malè sentiunt, qui veteres tantùm in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt. Quamquam Lex à Deo data per Mosen, quoad Ceremonias et ritus, Christianos non astringat, neque ciuilia eius præcepta in aliqua Republica necessariò recipi debeant: nihilominus tamen ab obedientia mandatorum, quæ Moralia vocantur,

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it not applie them to establishe any doctrine. Such are these following.

The third boke of Esdras.
 The fourth boke of Esdras.
 The booke of Tobias.
 The booke of Iudith.
 The rest of the booke of Hester².
 The booke of Wisdome.
 Iesus the sonne of Sirach.
 Baruch, the prophet.
 Song of the .3. Children.
 The storie of Susanna.
 Of Bel and the Dragon.
 The prayer of Manasses³.
 The .1. boke of Machab.
 The .2. Booke of Macha.

All the bookes of the newe Testament, as they are commonly receaued, we do receaue and accompt them for Canonicall.

VII.

Of the Olde Testament⁵.

The olde Testament is not contrary to the newe, for both in the olde and newe Testament⁶ euerlastyng lyfe is offered to mankynde by Christe, who is the onlye mediator betweene God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be hearde whiche faigne that the olde fathers dyd looke onlye for transitorie promises. Although the lawe geuen from God⁷ by Moyses, as touchyng ceremonies and rites, do not bynde Christian men, nor the ciuile preceptes therof, ought of necessitie to be receaued in any common

¹ Libros omnes] omnes libros C, E.

² The rest of the booke of Hester] wanting in LB.

³ Baruch...Manasses] wanting in LB.

⁴ nouo] in nouo E.

⁶ Testament] Testamentes LB, D.

⁵ Touching the olde Testament LB.

⁷ from God] wanting in LB.

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VII.

Symbola tria.

Symbola tria, Niceni¹, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolicum appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt []. Nam firmissimis divinarum Scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt².

VIII.

Peccatum Originale.

Peccatum originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani, et hodie Anabaptistæ repetunt) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et depravatio naturæ cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati: qua fit ut ab originali iustitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat: unde in unoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio, qua fit ut affectus carnis, græcè *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*, quod⁴ alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alia affectum, alii studium [] vocant, legi Dei non subiciatur. Et quanquam renatis et

¹ *A adds inquam.*

² Tria symbola Niceni, Athanasii et Apostolorum recipienda sunt et probantur scripturis sacris *J.*

³ *Cf. Hooper's 3rd Article*, for that as these Creeds are in such wise taken out of the Word of God, that do containe in them the sum of all Christian doctrine.

⁴ sed est vitium et depravatio...*σαρκὸς*, quod] verum in unoquoque nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur, et naturam hominum ita vitiat et depravat ut a prima institutione quam longissime distet. Manet etiam in renatis concupiscentia et depravatio naturæ, qua fit ut caro semper concupiscat adversus spiritum, et affectus carnis quæ *φρόνημα* quod *A.*

VII.

The three Credes³.

The three Credes, Nicene Crede, Athanasius Crede, and that whiche is commonlie called the Apostles Crede, ought throughly to be received []: for thei maie be proued by most certeine warrauntes of holie Scripture.

VIII.

Of originall or birthe sinne.

Originall sinne standeth not in the folowing of Adam, as the Pelligianes doe vainelie talke, whiche also the Anabaptistes doe now a daies renue, but it is the fault, and corruption of the nature of euery manne, that naturallie is engendred of the ofspring of Adam, whereby manne is very farre gone from †his former righteousness, whiche he had at his creation† and is of his owne nature †geuen† to euill, so that the fleshe desireth alwaies contrarie to the spirit, and therefore in euery persone borne into this worlde, it deserueth Goddes wrath and damnation: And this infection of nature doeth remaine, yea in theim that are baptized,

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nullus quantumuis Christianus, est solutus⁵.

VIII.

*Symbola tria*⁶.

Symbola tria, Nicænum, Athanasij, et quod vulgo Apostolicum⁷ appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt et credenda. Nam firmissimis Scripturarum testimonijs probari possunt.

IX.

*Peccatum Originale*¹⁰.

Peccatum originis non est (vt fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et deprauatio naturæ cuiuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati, qua fit, vt ab originali iustitia quàm longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper aduersus spiritum concupiscat. Vnde in vnoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ deprauatio; qua fit, ut affectus carnis, græce *φρόνημα σαρκός*, (quod alij sapientiam, alij sensum, alij affectum, alij studium¹¹ [] interpretantur) legi Dei non subijciatur. Et quanquàm renatis et credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in

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wealth: yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoeuer, is free from the obedience of the commaundementes, whiche are called morall⁵.

VIII.

*Of*⁸ *the three Credes.*

The three Credes, Nicene Crede, Athanasius Crede, and that whiche is commonlye called the Apostles' Crede, ought throughlye to be receaued and beleued: for they may be proued by moste certayne warrauntes⁹ of holye scripture.

IX.

Of originall or birth sinne.

Originall sinne standeth not in the folowing of Adam (as the Pelagians do vaynely talke) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of euery man, that naturally is engendred of the ofspring of Adam, whereby man is very farre gone from originall ryghteousnes¹², and is of his owne nature enclined¹³ to euyll, so that the fleshe lusteth¹⁴ alwayes contrary to the spirite, and therefore in euery person borne into this worlde, it deserueth Gods wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remayne, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the luste of the fleshe, called in Greke *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expounde the wisdom, some sensualitie, some the

⁵ The last clause of Art. VII. was transposed from Art. XIX. of the elder series.

⁶ De Tribus Symbolis E.

⁷ Apostolicum] Apostolorum E.

⁸ Of] wanting in LB, D.

⁹ warrauntes] warraunties LB, D.

¹⁰ De Peccato Originali E.

¹¹ studium] C adds carnis in the margin. It is also found in E.

¹² originall ryghteousnes] his originall righteousness D; his former ryghteousnes which he had at his creation LB: cf. col. 2.

¹³ enclined] geuen LB.

¹⁴ lusteth] desiereth LB.

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credendibus nulla propter *Christum* est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem¹ habere concupiscen-
tiam fatetur Apostolus.

IX.

De libero arbitrio.

† Absque gratia Dei, quæ per Christum est, nos preveniente ut velimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil valemus†.

X.

De gratia.

Gratia Christi, seu spiritus sanctus qui per eundem datur, cor lapideum aufert, et dat cor carneum. Atque licet ex nolentibus quæ recta sunt volentes faciat, et ex volentibus prava, nolentes reddat, voluntati nihilominus violentiam nullam infert. Et nemo hac de causa, cum peccaverit², seipsum excusare potest, quasi nolens aut coactus peccaverit, ut eam ob causam accusari non mereatur aut damnari.

¹ in sese rationem] rationem in sese *A*.

² peccaverit] *A* adds ideoque accusari.

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wherby the lust of the fleshe called in Greke φρόνημα σαρκός, (whiche some do expoune, the wisdom, some sensualitie, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh) is not subiect to the lawe of GOD. And although there is no condemnation for them that beleue, and are baptized, yet the Apostle doeth confesse, that concupiscence, and lust hath of it self the nature of sinne.

IX.

Of free wille.

† We haue no power to dooe good woorkes pleasaunte, and acceptable to God, with out the Grace of God by Christ, preuenting us that wee maie haue a good wille, and working in us, when we haue that wille†.

X.

Of Grace.

The Grace of Christ, or the holie Ghost by him geuen dothe take awaie the stonie harte, and geueth an harte of fleshe. And although, those that haue no will to good thinges, he maketh them to wil, and those that would euil thinges, he maketh them not to wille the same: Yet neuerthesse he enforceth not the wil. And therefore no man when he sinneth can excuse himself, as not wor-
thie to be blamed or condemned, by alleging that he sinned unwillinglie, or by compulsion.

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sese rationem habere Concupiscen-
tiam fatetur Apostolus.

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affection, some the desyre of the
fleshe, is not subiect to the lawe of
God. And although there is no
condemnation for them that be-
leue and are baptized: yet the
Apostle doth confesse that concu-
piscence and luste hath of it selfe
the nature of synne.

X.

De Libero Arbitrio.

Ea est hominis post lapsum Adæ
conditio, ut sese naturalibus suis
viribus et bonis operibus ad fidem
et invocationem Dei conuertere ac
præparare non possit: Quare abs-
que gratia Dei, quæ per Christum
est, nos præueniente, ut uelimus,
et cooperante dum volumus, ad
pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo
grata sint et accepta, nihil valemus.

X.

Of free wyll.

The condition of man after the
fall of Adam is suche, that he can
not turne and prepare hym selfe
by his owne naturall strength and
good workes, to fayth and calling
vpon God: Wherefore we haue no
power to do good workes pleasaunt
and acceptable to God, without the
grace of God by Christe preuent-
yng us, that we may haue a good
wyll, and workyng with vs³, when
we haue that good wyll.

³ with vs] in vs *LB, D*: cf. col. 2.

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XI.

De Hominis justificatione.

† Justificatio ex sola fide *Jesu Christi*, eo sensu quo in Homelia de justificatione explicatur, est certissima et saluberrima Christianorum doctrina†.

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XII.

Opera ante justificationem.

Opera quæ fiunt ante gratiam Christi, et Spiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide *Jesu Christi* non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt. Neque gratiam (ut multi vocant²) de congruo, merentur: Imo cum non sint³ facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

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XI.

Of the Justification of manne¹.

† Justification by onely faith in *Jesus Christ* in that sence, as it is declared in the homelie of Justification, is a moste certeine, and hole-some doctrine for Christien menne†.

[

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XII.

Workes before Justification.

Workes done before the Grace of *Christe* and the inspiration of his spirite are not pleasaunt to GOD, forasmuche as thei spring not of *Faith* in *Jesu Christe*, neither do thei make menne mete to receiue Grace, or (as the Schole authoures saie) deserue Grace of congruitie: but because thei are not done as god hath willed and

¹ Teach the justification of man to come only by the faith of *Jesus Christ* and not by the merit of any mans good workes, *Hooper's 7th Article*.

² fiunt ante gratiam...vocant] fiunt ante justificationem cum ex fide *Jesu Christi* non prodeant minime Deo grata sunt, neque gratiam ut multi vocant *A*.

³ sint] sunt *J*.

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XI.

De Hominis Iustificatione.

Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Seruatoris nostri Iesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra, iusti coram Deo reputamur⁴: Quare sola fide nos iustificari, doctrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima: ut in Homilia de Iustificatione hominis fusiùs explicatur.

XII.

De bonis Operibus.

Bona opera quæ sunt fructus fidei et iustificatos sequuntur, quamquam peccata nostra expiari⁷ et diuini iudicij seueritatem ferre non possunt, Deo tamen grata sunt et accepta in Christo, atque ex uera et uiua fide necessario profluunt, ut plane ex illis, æque fides uiua cognosci possit, atque arbor ex fructu iudicari.

XIII.

Opera ante Iustificationem⁸.

Opera quæ fiunt ante gratiam Christi, et spiritus eius afflatum, cum ex fide Iesu Christi non prod-eant, minimè Deo grata sunt: neque gratiam (ut multi⁹ uocant) de congruo merentur: Imo cum non sint facta ut Deus illa fieri uoluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

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XI.

Of the iustification of man.

We are accompted righteous before God, only for the merite of our Lord and sauour Jesus Christe, by faith, and not for our owne workes or deseruynges. Wherefore, that we are iustified by fayth onely, is⁵ a most wholesome doctrine, and very full⁶ of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homilie of iustification.

XII.

Of good workes.

Albeit that good workes, which are the fruites of fayth, and folowe after iustification, can not put away our sinnes, and endure the seueritie of Gods iudgement: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christe, and do spring out necessarily of a true and liuely fayth, in so muche that by them, a lyuely fayth may be as euidently knowen, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XIII.

Of¹⁰ workes before iustification.

Workes done before the grace of Christe, and the inspiration of his spirite, are not pleasaunt to God, forasmuch as they spring not of fayth in Iesu Christ, neither do they make men meete to receaue grace, or (as the schole authours saye) deserue grace of congruities: yea rather for that¹¹ they are not done as GOD hath wyllled and com-

⁴ reputamur] reputemur C, E.⁵ is] it is LB, D, (but corrected in the latter).⁶ very full] full LB.⁷ expiari] expiare C, E.⁸ De operibus ante justificationem E.⁹ multi = Schole-authors. The same is observable in the elder Articles.¹⁰ Of] wanting in LB, D.¹¹ Yea rather for that] but because LB: cf. col. 2.

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XIII.

Opera Supererogationis.

Opera quæ Supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate prædicari, nam illis² declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere quæ tenentur³, sed plus in ejus gratiam facere quam deberent: cum aperte Christus dicat, *Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta sunt vobis, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus.*

XIV.

Nemo præter Christum est sine peccato.

Christus in nostræ naturæ veritate, per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit⁴ ut agnus absque⁵ macula esset, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam⁶ tolleretur: et peccatum (ut inquit Joannes) in eo non erat. Sed nos reliqui etiam baptizati, et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes, et⁷ si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos

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XIII.

Woorkes of Supererogation.

Voluntarie woorkes besides, ouer, and aboue Goddes commaundementes, whiche thei cal woorkes of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancie, and †iniquiet†. For by theim menne dooe declare, that thei dooe not onely rendre to GOD, asmoche as thei are bounde to dooe, but that thei dooe more for his sake, then of bounden duetie is required: Whereas Christe saieth plainelie: when you haue dooen al that are commaunded you, saie, we be unprofitable seruauntes.

XIV.

No man is without sinne, but Christe alone.

Christe in the trueth of our nature was made like unto us in al thinges, sinne onely except, from whiche he was clearelie uoide bothe in his Fleshe, and in his Spirite. He came to be the lambe without spotte, who by Sacrifice of himself made ones for euer, should take away the sinnes of the worlde: and sinne (as Saint Jhon saieth) was not in him. But the rest, yea, althoughe we be baptized, and borne againe in Christe, yeat we all of-

¹ albeit that good workes do necessarily follow justification; the which before justification are of no value or estimation before God, *Hooper's 7th Article.*

² illis] illa *J.*

³ tenentur] teneantur *J.*

⁴ Venit] Venit enim *J.*

⁵ absque] sine *J.*

⁶ semel factam] wanting in *J.*

⁷ etiam baptizati ...omnes, et] quicumque sumus *J.*

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XIV.

*Opera Supererogationis*⁸.

Opera quæ supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate prædicari. Nam illis declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere quæ tenentur, sed plus in eius gratiam facere quam deberent: cum apertè Christus dicat: Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta sunt vobis, dicite: Serui inutiles sumus.

XV.

*Nemo præter Christum sine peccato*¹¹.

Christus in nostræ naturæ ueritate per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, à quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit, ut Agnus absque macula esset¹², qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam, tolleretur: et peccatum (ut inquit Iohannes) in eo non erat. Sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati, et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes: Et si dixerimus quia¹³

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XIV.

*Of*⁹ *workes of supererogation.*

Voluntarie workes besydes, ouer and aboue Gods commaundementes, which they call workes of supererogation, can not be taught without arrogancie and impietie. For by them men do declare that they do not onely render vnto God as muche as they are bounde to do, but that they do more for his sake then of bounden duetie is required: Whereas Christe sayth playnly, When ye haue done al that are commaunded to you¹⁰, say, We be vnprofitable seruantes.

XV.

*Of Christe alone without sinne*¹⁴.

Christe in the trueth of our nature, was made lyke vnto vs in al thinges (sinne only except) from which he was clearley voyde, both in his fleshe, and in his spirite. He came to be the lambe without spot, who by the sacrifice of hym self once made¹⁵, shoulde take away the sinnes of the worlde: and sinne, (as S. John sayeth) was not in hym. But al we the rest, (although baptized, and borne agayne in Christe)

⁸ De operibus Supererogationis E.¹⁰ to you] *wanting in LB.*¹¹ Nemo præter Christum est sine peccato E.¹² esset] *wanting in E. It exists, however, in other copies of 1571.*¹³ quia] *Some modern editions have quod, but without authority.*¹⁴ No man is without sinne but Chryst alone LB, D.¹⁵ once made] made once for euer LB.⁹ Of] *wanting in LB, D.*

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seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

XV.

De peccato †in spiritum sanctum†.

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in spiritum sanctum et irremissibile: proinde lapsis à baptismo in peccata, locus penitentiae non est negandus. Post acceptum spiritum sanctum possumus à gratia data recedere atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus poenitentiae locum denegant.

XVI.

Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum.

Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum, est cum quis Verborum Dei manifestè perceptam veritatem, ex malitia et obfirmatione animi, convitiis insectatur, et hostiliter insequitur. Atque huiusmodi, quia maledicto sunt obnoxii¹, gravissimo sese astringunt sceleri. Unde peccati hoc genus Irremissibile à Domino appellatur, et² affirmatur.

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fende in many thinges: and if we saie, we haue no Sinne, wee deceiue our selues, and the trueth is not in us.

XV.

Of sinne †against the holie Ghost†.

Euery deadlie sinne willinglie committed after Baptisme, is not Sinne against the holie Ghost, and unpardonable: wherfore the place for penitentes, is not to bee denied to soche as fall into sinne after Baptisme. After we haue receiued the holie Ghoste, we maie departe from grace geuen, and fall into sinne, and by the grace of GOD wee maie rise again, and amende our liues. And therfore thei are to be condemned, whiche saie, thei can nomore Sinne as long as thei live here, or denie the place for penitentes to soche as truelie repent, and amende their liues.

XVI.

Blasphemie against the holie Ghoste.

Blasphemie against the holie Ghost is, when a man of malice and stubbornesse of minde, doeth raile upon the trueth of goddes word manifestlie perceiued, and being enemie therunto persecuteth the same. And because soche be guilty of Goddes curse, thei entangle themselues with a moste grievous, and hainous crime, wherupon this kinde of sinne is called and affirmed of the Lorde, vn-pardonable.

¹ *A adds et reprobī per poenitentiam non amplius restitui possunt.*

² *appellatur et] wanting in A.*

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peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

XVI.

*De Lapsis post Baptismum*⁴.

Non omne peccatum Mortale post baptismum uoluntariè perpetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum sanctum et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis à baptismo in peccata, locus poenitentiae non est negandus. post acceptum spiritum sanctum, possumus à gratia data recedere atque peccare, denuóque per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideóque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic uiuant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut verè resipiscen-
tibus poenitentiae⁵ locum denegant.

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yet offende⁸ in many thinges, and if we say we haue no sinne, we deceaue our selues, and the trueth is not in vs.

XVI.

Of sinne after Baptisme.

Not euery deadly sinne willingly committed after baptisme, is⁶ sinne agaynst the holy ghost, and vnardonable. Wherefore, the graunt of repentaunce⁷ is not to be denyed to such as fal into sinne after baptisme. After we haue receaued the holy ghost, we may depart from grace geuen, and fall into sinne, and by the grace of God (we may) aryse⁸ agayne and amend our lyues. And therefore, they are to be condemned, whiche say they can no more sinne as long as they lyue here, or denie the place of forgeuenesse to such as truely repent⁹.

³ al we the rest...offend] we the reste although baptised and borne againe in Christe, yet we all offende, *D*: the rest, although we be baptised, and borne again in Chryste, yet we offende *LB*: cf. col. 2.

⁴ De Peccato post Baptismum *E*: De peccato in Spiritum Sanctum *C*.

⁵ poenitentiae] veniae *E*.

⁶ Not euery...is] Euery...is not *LB*: cf. col. 2.

⁷ graunt of repentaunce] place for penitence *LB, D*: cf. place for penitentes col. 2.

⁸ aryse] ryse *LB*: cf. col. 2.

⁹ *LB* adds and amende theyr lyues: cf. col. 2.

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XVII.

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

Prædestinatio ad vitam est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit eos quos [] elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta, per Christum ad æternam salutem adducere¹: unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati², illi³, spiritu ejus opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus vocantur, vocationi per gratiam parent⁴, Justificantur gratis, adoptantur in filios, unigeniti Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes, in bonis operibus sancte ambulant, et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum prædestinationis et electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis, et his qui sentiunt in se vim spiritus Christi, facta carnis, et membra quæ adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute consequenda per Christum⁵, plurimum stabilit atque confirmat; tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit: Ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos diabolus pertrudit vel in desperationem, vel

¹ adducere] perducere *A.*³ illi] *wanting in A.*⁵ consequenda per Christum] per Christum consequenda *A.*

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XVII.

Of predestination, and Election.

Predestination to life, is the euerlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the worlde were laied) he hath constantlie decreed by his owne Judgemente screte to vs, to deliuer from curse, and damnation those whom he hath chosen [] out of mankinde, and to bring them to euerlasting saluation by Christ, as vesselles made to honour: whereupon, soche as haue so excellent a benefite of GOD geuen unto them be called, according to Goddes purpose, by his spirite, woorking in due season, thei through grace obeie the calling, thei be justified frely, thei be made sonnes by adoptione, thei bee made like the image of Goddes onely begotten sonne Jesu Christe, thei walke religiouslie in goode woorkes, and at length by Goddes mercie, thei atteine to euerlasting felicitie.

As the Godlie consideration of Predestination, and our election in Christe is ful of swete, pleasaunte, and vnspeakable coumfort to Godlie persones, and soche as feelee in themselues the woorking of the spirite of Christi, mortifyng the workes of the flesh, and their earthlie membres, and drawing vp their minde to high, and heauenly thinges, aswel because it doeth greatly stablish and confirme their faith of eternal Saluation to bee enioied through Christe, as because it dooeth feruentlie kindle their loue towards Godde: So for

² donati] affecti *A.*⁴ parent] credunt *A.*

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XVII.

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

Prædestinatio ad uitam, est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante iacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decreuit, eos quos in Christo elegit ex hominum genere, à maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut uasa in honorem efficta, per Christum ad æternam salutem adducere: Vnde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi spiritu eius opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum eius uocantur: uocationi per gratiam parent: iustificantur gratis: adoptantur in filios: unigeniti Iesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes: in bonis operibus sanctè ambulant: et demùm ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam fœlicitatem.

Quemadmodum Prædestinationis et Electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis et ineffabilis consolationis plena est verè pijs et his qui sentiunt in se uim spiritus CHRISTI, facta carnis et membra quæ adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilit atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum uehementer accendit: ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuò versari Prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipi-

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XVII.

Of predestination and election.

Predestination to lyfe, is the euerlastyng purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were layd) he hath constantly decreed by his counsell secrete to vs⁶, to deliuer from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christe out of mankynde, and to bryng them by Christe to euerlastyng saluation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore⁷ they which be indued with so excellent a benefite of God⁸, be called accordyng to Gods purpose by his spirite workyng in due season: they through grace obey the callyng: they be iustified freely: they be made sonnes of God by adoption: they be made lyke the image of his onely begotten sonne Jesus Christe: they walke religiously in good workes, and at length by gods mercy, they attaine to euerlastyng felicitie.

As the godly consyderation of predestination, and our election in Christe, is full of sweete, pleasaunt, and vnspeakeable comfort to godly persons, and such as feelee in them selues the working of the spirite of Christe, mortifying the workes of the fleshe, and their earthlye members, and drawing vp their mynde to hygh and heauenly thinges, as well because it doth greatly establyshe and confirme their fayth of eternal saluation to be enioyed through Christ, as because it doth feruently kindle their loue towardes

⁶ by his counsell secrete to us] *wanting in LB: cf. col. 2.*

⁷ Wherefore] *Wherevpon LB: cf. col. 2.*

⁸ they which be indued with so excellent a benefite of God] such as haue so excellent a benefite of God, giuen vnto them *LB: they which be endued with so excellent a Benefite of God, geuen unto them D.*

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in æque perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem. Deinde licet prædestinationis decreta¹ sunt nobis ignota, promissiones tamen divinas² sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt: et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in Verbo Dei habemus diserte revelatam.

XVIII.

Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est æterna salus.

Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent, unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum³, modò juxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate⁴ vixerit: cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

XIX.

Omnes obligantur ad Moralia legis præcepta servanda.

Lex à Deo data per Mosen, licet quoad ad Cæremonias et ritus Christianos non astringat,

¹ *A adds* quatenus homines de hominibus judicare possunt.

² *A adds* quibus fides innitens certos nos reddit de nostra salute.

³ esse servandum] *transposed in A.*

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curious, and carnall persones lacking the Spirite of Christ, to haue continuallie before their yies the sentence of Goddes predestination, is a moste daungerous dounefall, whereby the Deuill maie thrust them either into desperation, or into a rechielesnesse of most vn-cleane liuing, no lesse perilous then desperation.

Furthermore, although the Decrees of predestination are vn-knownen vnto vs, yeat we must receiue Goddes promises, in soche wise, as thei bee generallie setfoorth to vs in holie Scripture, and in our doinges that wille of Godde is to be folowed, whiche we haue expresselie declared vnto vs in the woorde of Godde.

XVIII.

Wee must truste to obtaine eternal Saluation onely by the name of Christe.

Thei also are to be had accursed, and abhorred that presume to saie, that euery man shalbe saued by the Lawe, or secte whiche he professeth, so that he bee diligente to frame his life according to that Lawe, and the lighte of Nature: For holie Scripture doeth sette out vnto vs onely the name of Jesu Christ, wherby menne must be saued.

XIX.

All men are bounde to kepe the moral commaundementes of the Lawe.

The Lawe, whiche was geuen of GOD by Moses, although it

⁴ accurate] *innocenter A.*

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tium, unde illos Diabolus protrudit, uel in desperationem, uel in æquè perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem.

Deinde promissiones diuinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in Sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt: Et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in uerbo Dei habemus disertè reuelatam.

XVIII.

*Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est æterna salus*⁵.

Sunt illi⁶ anathematizandi qui dicere audent, vnumquemque in Lege aut secta quam profitetur, esse seruandum: modo iuxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate vixerit: cùm sacræ literæ tantum Iesu Christi nomen prædicent, in quo saluos fieri homines oporteat.

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God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirite of Christe, to haue continually before their eyes the sentence of Gods predestination, is a most daungerous downefall, whereby the deuyll doth thrust them either into desperation, or into rechelesnesse of most vn-cleane liuing, no lesse perilous then desperation.

Furthermore, we must receaue Gods promises in such wyse, as they be generally set foorth to vs in holy scripture: and in our doynge, that wyl of God is to be folowed, which we haue expreslye declared vnto vs in the worde of God.

XVIII.

*Of obtaynyng eternall saluation, only by the name of Christe*⁷.

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that euery man shal be saued by the lawe or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his lyfe accordyng to that lawe⁸, and the light of nature. For holy scripture doth set out vnto vs onely the name of Jesus Christe, whereby men must be saued.

⁵ De speranda æterna Salute tantum in Nomine Christi *E*.

⁶ illi] et illi *C, E*.

⁷ We must trust to obteyne eternall saluation, only by the name of Chryst *LB, D*.

⁸ that lawe] the lawe *D*.

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neque civilia ejus præcepta in aliqua Repub. necessario recipi debeant, nihilominus ab obedientia mandatorum quæ Moralia vocantur, nullus quantumvis Christianus est solutus: quare illi non sunt audiendi, qui sacras literas tantum infirmis datas esse perhibent, et spiritum perpetuò jactant, à quo sibi quæ prædicant suggeri asserunt, quanquam cum Sacris literis apertissime pugnent.

XX.

De Ecclesia.

Ecclesia Christi visibilis¹ est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur, et Sacramenta quoad ea quæ necessario² exiguntur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur.

Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hyerosolymitana, Alexandrina et Antiochena, ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et cære-

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binde not Christian menne, as concerning the Ceremonies, and Rites of the same: Neither is it required, that the Ciuile Preceptes and Ordres of it shoulde of necessitie bee receiued in any commune weale: Yet no Manne, (bee he neuer so perfecte a Christian) is exempte and lose from the Obedience of those Commaundementes, whiche are called Moral: wherfore thei are not to be harkened vnto, who affirme that holie Scripture is geuen onlie to the weake, and do boaste theimselues continually of the spirit, of whom (thei sai) thei haue learned soche thinges as thei teache, although thesame be most euidently repugnaunt to the holie Scripture.

XX.

Of the Church³.

The visible Church of Christ, is a congregation of faiethfull Menne, in the whiche the pure worde of God is preached, and the sacramentes be duellie ministred, according to Christes ordinaunce, in all those thinges that of necessitie are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, and of Antioche hath

¹ visibilis] *wanting in J.*

² necessario] *wanting in J.*

³ The Church of God is the congregation of the faithful wherein the Word of God is truly preached, and the sacraments iustly ministred according to the institution of Christ and his doctrine taught unto us by his holy Word, *Hooper's 4th Article.* *He then proceeds,* The Church of God is not by God's Word taken for the multitude or company of men as bishops, priests, and such other, but that it is the company of all men hearing God's Word and obeying unto the same: lest that any man should be seduced believing himselfe to be bound unto any ordinary succession of bishops and priests, but only unto the Word of God and to the right use of his sacraments.

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XIX.

De Ecclesia.

Ecclesiæ Christi uisibilis, est coetus fidelium, in quo uerbum Dei purum prædicatur, et⁴ sacramenta, quo ad ea quæ necessario exiguntur⁵, iuxta Christi institutum rectè administrantur. Sicut errauit ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina et Antiochena: ita et errauit Ecclesia Romana, non solùm quoad agenda et cæremoniarum ritus, uerum in hijs etiam quæ credenda sunt.

⁴ et] ut *E*, (*error of the press*).

⁵ exiguntur] exigantur *E*, (*perhaps a similar error*).

⁶ hath] haue *LB*.

⁷ matters of fayth] matters of theyr fayth *LB*: cf. col. 2.

XIX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christe, is a congregation of faythfull men, in the which the pure worde of God is preached, and the Sacramentes be duely ministred, accordyng to Christes ordinaunce in all those thynges that of necessitie are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioche haue erred: so also the Church of Rome hath⁶ erred, not only in their liuing and maner of ceremonies, but also in matters of fayth⁷.

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moniarum ritus¹, verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt.

XXI.

De Ecclesia Authoritate.

[] Ecclesia non licet quicquam² instituere³, quod verbo Dei Scripto adversetur: neque unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat: quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos⁴ nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

XXII.

De autoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

Generalia Concilia sine jussu et voluntate Principum congregari non possunt: et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant qui non omnes spiritu et †verbis† Dei reguntur, et errare possunt et interdum errârunt, etiam in his quæ ad normam pietatis pertinent: ideo quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possunt è sacris literis esse desumpta⁵.

¹ et cæremoniarum ritus] *wanting in J.*

² quicquam] quippiam *A.*

⁴ attamen ut adversus...illos] ut præter illos *J.* (*a line is probably omitted*).

⁵ *A adds* Possunt reges et pii magistratus non expectata conciliorum generalium sententia aut convocatione in republica sua juxta Dei verbum de rebus religionis constituere.

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erred: So also the Church of Rome hath erred, not onely in their liuing, but also in matiers of their faith.

XXI.

Of the aucthoritie of the Church.

[] It is not lawefulle for the Church, to ordein any thing, that is contrarie to Goddes worde writen, neither maie it so expoune one place of scripture, that it be repugnaunt to an other. wherfore although the church be a witnesse and a keper of holie writte, yet as it ought not to decree any thing againste the same: so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to bee beleued for necessitie of Saluation.

XXII.

Of the aucthoritie of general Counsailes.

Generall counsailes maie not be gathered together, without the commandemente, and will of Princes: and when thei be gathered (forasmoche as thei be an assemblie of men wherof all be not gouerned with the spirite, and woorde of GOD) thei maie erre, and sometime haue erred, not onely in worldlie matiers, but also in thinges pertaining vnto God. Wherefore thinges ordeined by them, as necessarie to Saluation, haue neither strength, nor aucto-

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XX.

De Ecclesiæ autoritate.

Habet Ecclesia Ritus statuendi ius, et in fidei controuersijs auctoritatem, quamuis⁶ Ecclesiæ non licet quicquam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto⁷ aduersetur, nec⁸ unum scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit diuinorum librorum testis et conseruatric, attamen vt aduersus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

XXI.

De autoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

Generalia Concilia sine iussu et uoluntate principum congregari non possunt, et vbi conuenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes spiritu et † uerbis † Dei¹⁰ reguntur, et errare possunt, et interdum errant, etiam in hijs quæ ad normam pietatis pertinent: ideo¹¹ quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent, neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possint è sacris literis esse desumpta.

XX.

Of the auctoritie of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and auctoritie in controuersies of fayth: And yet⁹ it is not lawfull for the Church to ordayne any thyng that is contrarie to Gods worde written, neyther may it so expounde one place of scripture, that it be repugnaunt to another. Wherefore, although the Churche be a witnesse and a keper of holy writ: yet, as it ought not to decree any thing agaynst the same, so besides the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be beleued for necessitie of saluation.

XXI.

Of the auctoritie of generall Counsellies.

Generall Counsels may not be gathered together without the commaundement and wyll of princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuche as they be an assemblie of men, wherof all be not gouerned with the spirite and word of God) they may erre, and sometyme haue erred, euen in thinges parteynyng vnto God. Wherefore, thinges ordayned by them as necessary to saluation, haue neyther strength nor auctoritie, vnlesse it may be declared

⁶ Habet Ecclesia...quamuis] *wanting in C, E.* See above, p. 140.

⁷ scripto] *wanting in E.*

⁸ nec] *neque C, E.*

⁹ The Church...And yet] *wanting in LB, D.*

¹⁰ uerbis Dei] verbo Dei *E.* It is corrected from uerbis into verbo in *C.*

¹¹ ideo] ideoque *E.*

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XXIII.

De Purgatorio.

†Scholasticorum† doctrina de Purgatorio, de Indulgentiis, de Veneratione et adoratione tum¹ imaginum tum Reliquiarum², nec non de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur, imo Verbo Dei perniciose contradicit³.

XXIV.

Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi vocatus.

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice prædicandi, aut administrandi Sacramenta in Ecclesia nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus et missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros atque mittendi in vineam Domini publice concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.

XXV.

Agendum est in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit populo nota.

†Decentissimum est et Verbo Dei maxime congruit, ut nihil in

¹ tum] cum *A*.

² *A* adds de precatatione pro defunctis. In like manner, we have in Hooper's ninth Article, the doctrine of the schoolmen of purgatory, pardons, prayers for them that are departed out of this world, &c.

³ res est futilis...contradicit] nullis innititur scripturarum testimoniis, sed est res futilis et inaniter conficta *J*.

⁴ No maner of person of his own private authority to take upon him to preach the Word of God or to minister his sacramentes openly, *Hooper's 17th Article*. He adds that a lawful calling is to be known either by manifest signes and tokens out of heaven, or els by such men unto whome appertaineth by office to appoint.

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XXIII.

Of Purgatorie.

ritie, onlesse it maie be declared, that thei be taken out of holie scripture.

†The doctrine of Scholeaucthoures† concerning purgatorie, Pardones, Worshipping, and adoration aswell of Images, as of reliques, and also inuocation of Sainctes, is a fonde thing vainlie † feigned †, and groundedypon no warraunt of scripture, but rather repugnant to the woorde of God.

XXIV.

No manne maie minister in the Congregation, except he be called.

It is not lawful for any man to take vpon him the office of Publique preaching, or ministering the sacramentes in the congregation⁴, before he be lawfullie called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfullie called, and sent, whiche be chosen, and called to this woorke by menne, who haue publique auctoritie geuen vnto them in the congregation, to cal, and sende ministres into the Lordes vineyarde.

XXV.

Menne must speake in the Congregation in soche tounge, as the people vnderstandeth.

†It is moste semelie, and moste

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XXII.

De Purgatorio.

Doctrina Romanensium de Purgatorio, de Indulgentijs, de veneratione et adoratione tum Imaginum tum Reliquiarum, nec non de inuocatione Sanctorum, res est inutilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimonijs innititur, imo verbo Dei contradicit⁵.

XXIII.

*Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi uocatus*⁸.

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publicè prædicandi, aut administrandi Sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitimè uocatus et missus. Atque illos, legitimè uocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas uocandi Ministros atque mittendi in uineam Domini publicè concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.

XXIV.

*Agendum est in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit populo nota*¹⁰.

Lingua populo non intellecta publicas in ecclesia preces peragere, aut Sacramenta administrare, verbo

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that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

XXII.

Of Purgatorie.

The Romishe doctrine concerning purgatorie, pardons, worshiping and adoration aswell of images, as of reliques, and also inuocation of Saintes, is a fonde thing, vainly inuented⁶, and grounded vpon no warrantie⁷ of Scripture, but rather repugnaunt to the worde of God.

XXIII.

*Of ministryng in the congregatiō*⁹.

It is not lawful for any man to take vpon hym the office of publique preachyng, or ministring the Sacramentes in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfully called and sent, whiche be chosen and called to this worke by men who haue publique auctoritie geuen vnto them in the congregation, to call and sende ministers into the Lordes vineyarde.

XXIV.

*Of speakyng in the congregation, in such a tongue as the people vnderstandeth*¹¹.

It is a thing playnely repugnaunt to the worde of God, and the cus-

⁵ contradicit] pernitiōse contradicit *C*, (*but the adverb is run through*).

⁶ inuented] fayned *LB*, cf. col. 2.

⁷ warrantie] warrant *D*.

⁸ De Vocatione ministrorum *E*.

⁹ No man may minister in the congregation, except he be called *LB*, *D*.

¹⁰ De Precibus publicis dicendis in Lingua Vulgari *E*.

¹¹ Men must speake in the congregation in such tongue as the people understandeth *LB*, *D*: cf. col. 2.

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Ecclesia publice legatur aut recitetur lingua populo ignota, idque Paulus fieri vetuit, nisi adesset qui interpretaretur†.

XXVI.

De Sacramentis.

Dominus noster Jesus Christus Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatu facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est Baptismus et Cœna Domini².

[

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Sacramenta non instituta sunt à Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur: et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum, idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato; quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium³ sed admodum superstitiosum: qui vero indigne percipiunt damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt⁴.

Sacramenta per Verbum Dei in-

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agreable to the woorde of God, that in the congregation nothing be openlie readde, or spoken in a tounge vnknownen to the people¹, the whiche thing S. Paule didde forbidde, except some were presente that should declare the same†.

XXVI.

Of the Sacramentes.

Our LORDE Jesus Christe hathe knitte toguether a companie of newe people with Sacramentes, moste fewe in nombre, moste easie to bee kepte, moste excellent in significatione, as is Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.

[

]

The Sacramentes were not ordeined of Christe to be gased vpon, or to be caried about, but that we shoulde rightlie use them. And in soche onely, as worthelie receiue thesame, thei haue an wholesome effecte, and operacione, and yet not that of the woorke wrought⁵, as some men speake, whiche worde, as it is straunge, and vnknownen to holie Scripture: So it engendreth no Godlie, but a verie superstitious sense. But

¹ Hooper adds to vernacular language due and distinct pronunciation.

² A adds quæ duo tantum in ecclesia pro sacramentis a Christo Domino sunt instituta et quæ sola sacramentorum propriam rationem habent.—Albeit that the imposition of hands be tokens of the approbation of the ministers of the Church, according to the example of the Apostles, yet it may not therefore be called a sacrament by like reason as the other two sacraments are, *Hooper's 39th Article*.

³ The Article in J ends here.

⁴ Qui indigne ad baptismum et ad cœnum Domini accedunt quamquam percipiunt sacramenta, non tamen rem et salutarem effectum sacramentorum sumunt, imo, quemadmodum Paulus dicit, damnationem sibi ipsis accersunt J.

⁵ not of any force by vertue or strength of any outward worke of the same (which of superstition is called opus operatum) but only by the vertue and meanes of the Holy Ghost, *Hooper's 24th Article*.

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Dei et primitiue Ecclesiæ consuetudini planè repugnat.

XXV.

De Sacramentis.

Sacramenta à Christo instituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam potius testimonia, et efficacia signa gratiæ, atque bonæ in nos uoluntatis Dei, per quæ inuisibiliter ipse in nobis⁶ operatur, nostramque fidem in se, non solum excitat, uerum etiam confirmat.

Duo à Christo Domino nostro in Euangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta, scilicet Baptismus et Cæna Domini.

Quinque illa uulgo nominata Sacramenta, scilicet, Confirmatio, Pœnitentia, Ordo, Matrimonium, et Extrema unctio, pro sacramentis euangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quæ partim à praua Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt⁷, partim uitæ status sunt in scripturis quidem probati, sed sacramentorum eandem cum baptismo et cæna Domini rationem non habentes: quomodo nec Pœnitentia, ut quæ signum aliquod uisibile seu cæremoniam a Deo institutam⁸ non habeat⁹.

Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt à Christo, ut spectarentur, aut circumferrentur, sed ut ritè illis uteremur: et in hijs duntaxat qui dignè percipiunt, salutarem habent effec-

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tome of the primitiue Church, to haue publique prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacramentes in a tongue not vnderstanded of the people.

XXV.

Of the Sacramentes.

Sacramentes ordayned of Christe, be not onely badges or tokens of Christian mens profession: but rather they be certaine sure witnessess and effectuell signes of grace and Gods good wyll towardes vs, by the which he doth worke inuisiblie in vs, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirme our fayth in hym.

There are two Sacramentes ordayned of Christe our Lorde in the Gospell, that is to say, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lorde.

Those fyue, commonly called Sacramentes, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimonie, and extreme Vnction¹⁰, are not to be compted¹¹ for Sacramentes of the gospel, being such as haue growen partly of the corrupt folowing of the Apostles, partly are states of life alowed in the scriptures: but yet haue not lyke nature of Sacramentes with Baptisme and the Lordes Supper, for that they haue not any visible signe or ceremonie ordayned of God.

The Sacramentes were not ordayned of Christ to be gased vpon, or to be caryed about: but that we should duely use them. And in

⁶ nobis] nos *E*.

⁸ institutam] institum *E*.

¹⁰ Vnction] annoyling *LB, D*: cf. col. 2.

⁷ profluxerunt] profluxerint *C*.

⁹ habeat] habeant *E*.

¹¹ compted] accompted *LB*.

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stituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat¹.

XXVII.

Ministrorum malitia, non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinarum.

Quamvis in Ecclesia visibili, bonis mali sint semper admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et Sacramentorum administrationi præsent, tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et auctoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in Verbo Dei audiendo, tum in Sacramentis percipiendis: neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur quoad eos, qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrentur. Ad Ecclesiæ ta-

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thei that receiue the Sacramentes vnwoorthelie², purchase to themselves Damnatione, as Saincte Paule saieth.

Sacramentes ordeined by the worde of God be not onely Badges, and tokens of Christien Mennes professione, but rather thei bee certeine sure witnesses, and effectuall signes of grace, and Goddes good will towarde vs, by the whiche he dothe worke inuisible in vs, and dothe not onlie quicken, but also strengthen, and confirme our faith in him³.

XXVII.

The wickednesse of the Ministres dooeth not take awaie the effectuall operation of Goddes ordinances.

Although in the visible Church the euill be euer mingled with the good, and sometime the euil haue chief auctoritie in the ministration of the worde and Sacramentes: Yet forasmuche as thei doe not thesame in their owne name, but dooe minister by Christes commission, and auctoritie: we maie use their ministerie bothe in hearing the worde of God, and in the receiuing the sacramentes, neither is the effecte of Goddes Ordinaunces taken awaie⁴ by their Wickednesse, or the grace of Goddes giftes diminished from soche, as by faieth and

¹ The whole of this clause, both Latin and English, is transposed in 1562.

² do not receive the virtue and true effect of the same sacraments, although they receive the externall signes and elementes of the sacraments, *Hooper's 11th Article*.

³ not only signes and notes of the profession of Christian men, but also certaine impressions or prints of the grace and good-will of God towards us, which thing is made perfect in us, when inwardly the Holy Ghost worketh that our faith may apprehend the thing that is signified by the Word and the sacraments, *Hooper's 23rd Article*.

⁴ The malice of the minister cannot derogate nor hurt the doctrine, verity and majesty of God's word and his sacraments, *Hooper's 25th Article*.

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tum: qui uerò indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

XXVI.

*Ministrorum malitia non tollit efficaciam institutionum diuinarum*⁶.

Quamuis in Ecclesia uisibili bonis mali semper sint⁷ admixti, atque interdum ministerio uerbi et sacramentorum administrationi præsent, tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine agant, eiusque mandato et autoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide et ritè sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem CHRISTI et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrantur.

Ad Ecclesiæ tamen Disciplinam pertinent, ut in malos Ministros in-

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such only, as worthyly receaue the same, they haue a wholesome effect or⁵ operation: But they that receaue them vnworthyly, purchase to them selues damnation, as S. Paul sayth.

XXVI.

*Of the vnworthynesse of the ministers, which hinder not the effect of the Sacramentes*⁸.

Although in the visible Church the euyl be euer myngled with the good, and sometime the euyl haue cheefe auctoritie in the ministration of the worde and Sacramentes: yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their owne name but in Christes, and do minister by his commission and auctoritie⁹, we may vse their ministrie, both in hearing the word of God, and in the receauing of the Sacramentes. Neither is y^e effecte of Christes ordinaunce¹⁰ taken away by their wickednesse, nor the grace of Gods gyftes diminished from such as by fayth and ryghtly do receaue the Sacramentes ministered vnto them,

⁵ or] and *LB*.

⁶ De vi Institutionum Diuinarum, quod eam non tollat malitia ministrorum *E*.

⁷ sint] sunt *C*.

⁸ The wickedness of the ministers doth not take away the effectual operation of God's ordinances *LB, D, cf. col. 2*.

⁹ but in Christes and do minister by his commission and auctoritie] but do minister by Christes commission and aucthoryte *LB, D*.

¹⁰ Christes ordinaunce] God's ordinaunces *LB*.

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men disciplinam pertinet, ut in
† eos † inquiratur, accusenturque ab
iis, qui eorum flagitia noverint, at-
que tandem justo convicti iudicio,
deponantur.

XXVIII.

De Baptismo.

Baptismus, non est tantum sig-
num professionis ac discriminis nota,
qua Christiani à non Christianis dis-
cernuntur, sed etiam est signum
regenerationis, per quod tanquam
per instrumentum recte Baptismus
suscipientes, Ecclesiæ inferuntur¹,
promissiones de remissione pecca-
torum atque adoptione nostra in
filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum
visibiliter² obsignantur, fides confir-
matur, et vi divinæ invocationis,
gratia augetur. † Mos Ecclesiæ
baptizandi parvulos et laudandus et
omnino in Ecclesia retinendus†.

XXIX.

*De Cœna Domini*³.

Cœna Domini non est tantum
signum mutuae benevolentiae Chris-
tianorum inter sese, verum potius

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rightlie receiue the Sacramentes
ministred vnto them, whiche bee
effectuall, because of Christes insti-
tutione and promise, although thei
be ministred by euil men. Neuer-
thelesse it apperteineth to the dis-
cipline of the Church, that enquirie
be made of † soche †, and that thei
bee accused by those that haue
knowelege of their offences, and
finally being founde guiltie by iust
iudgement, be deposed.

XXVIII.

Of Baptisme.

Baptisme is not onelie a signe of
profession, and marke of difference,
wherby Christien menne are dis-
cerned from other that bee not
Christened, but it is also a signe,
and seale of our newe birth, where-
by, as by an instrument thei that
receiue Baptisme rightlie, are graft-
ed in the Church, the promises of
forgeuenesse of Sinne, and our
Adoption to bee the sonnes of God,
[] are visiblie signed and
sealed, faith is confirmed, and grace
increased by vertue of praier vnto
God. † The custome of the Church
to Christen yonge children, is to bee
commended, and in any wise to bee
reteined in the Church†.

XXIX.

Of the Lordes Supper.

The Supper of the Lorde is not
onely a signe of the loue that
Christiens ought to haue among

¹ inferuntur] inseruntur *B*, visibiliter inserimur *A*.

² visibiliter] wanting in *A*.

³ In *A* this article is divided into four, each consisting of a clause according to the present subdivision. Art. xxx. is intitled de Transubstantiatione; xxxi. de Corporali Christi præsentia in Eucharistia; xxxii. Sacramentum Eucharistiæ non asservandum.

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quiratur, accusenturque ab hijs, qui eorum flagitia nouerint, atque tandem iusto conuicti iudicio, depellantur.

XXVII.

De Baptismo.

Baptismus non est tantum professionis signum ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani à non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum Regenerationis, per quod tanquam per instrumentum rectè baptismum susipientes⁵, ecclesiæ inseruntur, promissiones de Remissione peccatorum atque Adoptione nostra in filios Dei, per Spiritum sanctum uisibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et ui diuinæ inuocationis, gratia augetur.

Baptismus paruulorum omnino in ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optimè congruat.

XXVIII.

De Coena Domini.

Coena Domini non est tantum signum mutuae beneuolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, uerum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mor-

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which be effectually, because of Christes institution and promise, although they be ministred by euyl men.

Neuerthesse, it apperteyneth to the discipline of the Church, that enquirie be made of euyl ministers⁴, and that they be accused by those that haue knowledge of their offences: and finally, beyng founde gyltie by iust iudgement, be deposed.

XXVII.

Of Baptisme.

Baptisme is not only a signe of profession, and marke of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened: but is also a signe of regeneration or newe byrth⁶, whereby as by an instrument, they that receaue baptisme rightly, are grafted into the Church: the promises of the forgeuenesse of sinne, and of⁷ our adoption to be the sonnes of God, by the holy ghost, are visibly signed and sealed: fayth is conformed: and grace increased by vertue of prayer vnto God. The baptisme of young children, is in any wyse to be retayned in the Church, as most agreable with the institution of Christe.

XXVIII.

Of the Lordes Supper.

The Supper of the Lord, is not only a signe of the loue that Christians ought to haue among themselves one to another: but rather

⁴ euyl ministers] such *LB*: cf. col. 2.

⁵ susipientes] *an error of the press for* suscipientes.

⁶ a signe of regeneration or newe byrth] a signe and seale of our newe byrth *LB*: cf. col. 2.

⁷ of] *wanting in LB*.

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est Sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque adeò rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: Similiter poculum benedictionis, est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur [] et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Quum naturæ humanæ veritas requirat, ut unius ejusdemque hominis corpus in multis locis simul esse non posset, sed in uno aliquo et definito¹ [] loco esse oporteat, idcirco Christi corpus, in multis et diversis locis, eodem tempore, præsens esse non potest. Et quoniam, ut tradunt Sacræ literæ, Christus in Cœlum fuit sublatus, et ibi usque ad finem seculi est permansurus, non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis Realem et Corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi² non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur³.

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theim selues one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christes death, inso-moche that to soche as rightlie, woorthelie, and with faieth receiue the same, the breade whiche we breake, is a communion of the bodie of Christe. Likewise the Cuppe of blessing, is a Communion of the bloude of Christe.

Transubstanciation⁴, or the chaunge of the substaunce of breade, and wine into the substaunce of Christes bodie, and bloude cannot bee proued by holie writte, but is repugnaunt to the plaine woordes of Scripture, [] and hath geuen occasion to many supersticions.

Forasmoeche as the trueth of mannes nature requireth, that the bodie of one, and thesself same manne cannot be at one time in diuerse places, but must nedes be in some one certeine place: Therefore the bodie of Christe cannot bee presente at one time in many, and diuerse places. And because (as holie Scripture doeth teache) Christe was taken vp into heauen, and there shall continue vnto thende of the worlde, a faithful man ought not, either to beleue, or openlie to confesse the reall, and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes fleshe, and bloude, in the Sacramente of the Lordes supper.

¹ ut unius ejusdemque...definito] ut in multis locis simul esse non posset, sed certo quodam et definito *A*.

² *J* adds nec ex usu primitivæ Ecclesiæ.

³ nec adorabatur] ut adoretur *J*.

⁴ or any maner of corporall, or locall presence of Christ in, under or with the bread and wine, *Hooper's 9th Article*. He adds that what we receive is the confirmation and augmentation of all the merits and deservings of Christ.

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tem Christi redemptionis. Atque adeo ritè, dignè et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus, est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis, est communicatio sanguinis Christi. Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis scripturæ verbis aduersatur, sacramenti naturam euertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem⁵.

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, tantùm cœlesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem que Corpus Christi accipitur et manducatur in cœna, fides est.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non seruabatur, circumferebatur, eleuabatur, nec adorabatur.

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it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christes death. Insomuch that to suche as ryghtlie, worthyly, and with fayth receaue the same the bread whiche we breake is a parttakyng⁶ of the body of Christe, and likewyse the cuppe of blessing, is a parttakyng of the blood of Christe.

Transubstantiation (or the chaunge of the substaunce of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lorde⁷, can not be proued by holye writ, but is repugnaunt to the playne wordes of scripture, ouerthroweth⁸ the nature of a Sacrament, and hath geuen occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christe is geuen, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heauenly and spirituall maner⁹: And¹⁰ the meane whereby the body of Christe is receaued and eaten in the Supper, is fayth.

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper was not by Christes ordinance reserued, caryed about, lyfted vp, or¹¹ worshipped.

⁵ *The following clause was here added in C, but struck out in the Synod:* Christus in cœlum ascendens, corpori suo Immortalitatem dedit, Naturam non abstulit humane enim nature veritatem, (iuxta Scripturas) perpetuo retinet, quam uno et definito Loco esse, et non in multa, vel omnia simul loca diffundi oportet. Quum igitur Christus in celum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem seculi permansurus, atque inde, non aliunde (ut loquitur Augustinus) venturus sit, ad iudicandum viuos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, carnis et eius, et sanguinis, realem, et corporalem (ut loquuntur) presentiam in Eucharistia vel credere, vel profiteri. Corpus tamen Christi datur etc.

⁶ parttakyng] *This word was exchanged for communion which is the reading of LB, D.*

⁷ in the Supper of the Lorde] into the substance of Christ's body and bloode LB, D.

⁸ ouerthroweth] perverteth LB.

⁹ only after...maner] after...maner onely LB.

¹⁰ And] But LB, D.

¹¹ or] nor LB.

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The Sacramente of the Lordes supper was not commaunded by Christes ordinaunce to be kepte, caried about, lifted vp, nor worshipped.

XXX.

De unica Christi oblatione in cruce perfecta.

Oblatio Christi semel facta¹, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quàm actualibus: neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expi-

XXX.

Of the perfeicte oblacion of Christe made vpon the crosse.

The offering of Christe made ones for euer, is the perfecte redemption, the pacifyng of goddes displeasure, and satisfaction for al the sinnes of the whole world², bothe original and actuell: and there is none

¹ semel facta] semel in cruce facta *J.*

² for all sins of all times to all men believing in the same sacrifice, *Hooper's 15th Article.*

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XXIX.

De Vtraque Specie.

Calix Domini Laicis non est denegandus: utraque enim pars dominici sacramenti ex Christi institutione et præcepto, omnibus Christianis ex æquo administrari debet.

XXX.

De unica Christi oblatione in Cruce perfecta.

Oblatio Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis

¹ This Article wanting in all the printed copies until 1571. See above, p. 139, n. 2. It is found, however, in C and D, in the former of which it stands as follows: Impii, et fide viua destituti, licet carnaliter et visibiliter (vt Augustinus loquitur) corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Christi participes efficiuntur. Sed potius tante rei Sacramentum seu Symbolum, ad Iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt. Similarly E.

² once made] once made for euer LB: cf. col. 2.

³ redemption, propiciation, and satisfaction] redemption, the pacifying of God's displeasure and satisfaction LB.

XXIX.

Of the wicked which do not eate the body of Christe in the vse of the Lordes Supper.

The wicked, and suche as be voyde of a liuelye fayth, although they do carnally and visibly presse with their teeth (as Saint Augustine sayth) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ: yet in no wyse are the partakers of Christe, but rather to their condemnation do eate and drinke the signe or Sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX.

Of both kindes.

The cuppe of the Lorde is not to be denyed to the laye people. For both the partes of the Lordes Sacrament, by Christes ordinance and commaundement, ought to be ministred to all Christian men alike.

XXXI.

Of the one oblation of Christe finished vppon the Crosse.

The offering of Christ once made², is the perfect redemption, propiciation, and satisfaction³ for

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atio. Unde Missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem poenæ aut culpæ¹ pro vivis et defunctis, figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ imposturæ.

XXXI.

† *Cœlibatus ex verbo Dei præcipitur nemini.*

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis non est mandatum et cœlibatum voveant: neque jure divino coguntur matrimonio³ abstinere†⁴.

XXXII.

Excommunicati vitandi sunt.

Qui per publicam Ecclesiæ denunciationem rite⁵ ab unitate Ecclesiæ præcisus et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine, donec per poenitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio Judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam Ethnicus et Publicanus.

¹ in remissionem poenæ aut culpæ] *wanting in A, J.*

² The popish mass is a meere enemy against God's word and Christ's institution. ...Albeit it doth retaine in it certaine Lessons of the Holy Scriptures, yet it is nothing better to be esteemed than the verses of the sorcerer or enchanter that be nothing more to be esteemed for certaine holy wordes murmured and spoaken in secret, *Hooper's 28th Article.*

³ matrimonio] a matrimonio *J.*

⁴ *A adds si donum non habeant, tametsi voverint, quandoquidem hoc voti genus verbo Dei repugnat. Hooper adds that the forbidding of mariage is the doctrine of divells.*

⁵ rite] propter capitalia crimina *A.*

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other satisfaction for sinne, but that alone. wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the whiche, it was commonlie saied, that the Prieste did offre Christe for the quicke, and the dead, to haue remission of peine or †sinne,† were forged fables, and daungerouse deceiptes².

XXXI.

† *The state of single life is commaunded to no man by the worde of God.*

Bishoppes, Priestes, and Deacons are not commaunded to vowe the state of single life without mariage, neither by Goddes lawe are thei compelled to absteine from matrimonie.†

XXXII.

Excommunicate persones are to bee auoided.

That persone, whiche by open denunciacion of the Church, is rightlie cut of from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faiethful, as an Heathen, and publicane, vntil he bee openlie reconciled by penance, and receiued into the Church by a Judge that hath auctoritie thereto.

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totius Mundi, tam originalibus quam Actualibus. Neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Vnde missarum sacrificia, quibus uulgo dicebatur, Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem poenæ aut culpæ pro uiuis et defunctis, blasphemia figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ imposturæ.

XXXI.

De Coniugio Sacerdotum.

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis, nullo mandato diuino præceptum est, ut aut cælibatum uoueant, aut à matrimonio abstineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, vt cæteris omnibus Christianis, vbi hoc ad pietatem magis facere iudicauerint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.

XXXII.

*Excommunicati uitandi sunt*⁷.

Qui per publicam Ecclesiæ denuntiationem ritè ab unitate ecclesiæ præcisus est et excommunicatus, is ab uniuersa fidelium multitudine, donec per poenitentiam publicè reconciliatus fuerit, arbitrio Iudicis competentis, habendus est tanquam Ethnicus et Publicanus.

1571.

all the sinnes of the whole worlde, both originall and actually, and there is none other satisfaction for sinne, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priestess did offer Christe for the quicke and the dead, to haue remission of payne or gylt, were blasphemous⁶ fables, and dangerous deceites.

XXXII.

Of the mariage of Priestes.

Byshops, Priestes, and Deacons, are not commaunded by Gods lawe eyther to vowe the estate of single lyfe, or to abstayne from mariage. Therefore it is lawfull also for them, as for all other Christian men, to mary at their owne discretion, as they shall iudge the same to serue better to godlynesse.

XXXIII.

*Of excommunicate persons, howe they are to be auoyded*⁸.

That person whiche by open denuntiation of the Church, is ryghtly cut of from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faythfull as an Heathen and Publicane, vntill he be openly reconciled by penaunce, and receaued into the Church by a iudge that hath auctoritie thereto.

⁶ blasphemous] forged *LB, D*: cf. col. 2.

⁷ De Excommunicatis vitandis *E*.

⁸ Excommunicate persons are to be avoided *LB, D*.

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XXXIII.

Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ.

Traditiones atque cæremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles, nam variæ et semper fuerunt et mutari possunt pro Regionum [] et morum diversitate; modo nihil contra Dei verbum instituat.

Traditiones et cæremonias Ecclesiasticas, quæ cum Verbo Dei non pugnant et sunt autoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens et data opera publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiæ, qui-que lædit auctoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

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1552.

XXXIII.

Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessarie that traditions and ceremonies bee in all places one, or vtterlie like. For at al times thei haue been diuers, and maie bee chaunged, according to the diuersitie of countries, [] and mennes maners, so that nothing bee ordeined against goddes worde.

Whosoeuer through his priuate iudgement willinglie, and purposelie doeth openlie breake the traditions and Ceremonies of the Church¹, whiche bee not repugnaunte to the worde of God, and bee ordeined, and approued by common auctoritie, ought to be rebuked openlie (that other maie feare to doe the like) as one that offendeth against the common ordre of the church, and hurteth thauctoritie of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weake brethren.

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¹ willingly or openly with slanders do violate and break any ceremonies made and approued by the Kings majesties authority, *Hooper's 16th Article.*

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XXXIII.

*Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ*².

Traditiones atque cæremonias easdem, non omnino necessarium est esse ubique aut prorsus consimiles. Nam et uariæ semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro Regionum, temporum³, et morum diuersitate, modo nihil contra uerbum Dei instituat.

Traditiones et cæremonias ecclesiasticas quæ cum uerbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt autoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis priuato consilio uolens et data opera publicè uiolauerit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem ecclesiæ, qui-que lædit auctoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias uulnerat, publicè, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

Quælibet ecclesia particularis, siue nationalis auctoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi cæremonias aut ritus Ecclesiasticos, humana tantum auctoritate institutos, modò omnia ad ædificationem fiant.

⁴Tomus secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic Articulo subiunximus, continet piam et salutarem doctrinam, et hijs temporibus necessariam, non minus quàm prior Tomus Homiliarum quæ æditæ sunt tempore Edwardi sexti. Itaque eas in ecclesijs per ministros diligenter et clarè, ut à populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse iudicamus.

² De Traditionibus Ecclesiasticis *E*.

³ temporum] added in *C* with a red pencil.

⁴ This is the natural point of division, but no title exists in *C*, *D*, or *LB*, to disjoin the account of the Homilies from the foregoing Article. Where a number is found at all it is affixed to the title of the first Homily; but the error is corrected in *E*, which contains also the title De Homiliis.

⁵ ordayned and approued] ordeined and appointed *D*.

1571.

XXXIV.

Of the traditions of the Church.

It is not necessarie that traditions and ceremonies be in al places one, or vtterly like, for at all times they haue ben diuerse, and may be chaunged accordyng to the diuersitie of Countreys, times, and mens maners, so that nothing be ordeyned against Gods worde. Whosoouer through his priuate iudgement, wyllyngly and purposely doth openly breake the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnaunt to the worde of God, and be ordayned and approued⁵ by common auctoritie, ought to be rebuked openly, (that other may feare to do the lyke) as he⁶ that offendeth agaynst the Common order of the Church, and hurteth the auctoritie of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weake brethren.

Euery particuler or nationall Church, hath auctoritie to ordaine, chaunge, and abolishe ceremonies or rites of the Church ordeyned onelye by mans auctoritie, so that all thinges be done to edifying.

⁶ he] one *LB*, *D*.

1552.

XXXIV.

†*Homiliæ.*

Homiliæ nuper Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ per injunctiones Regias traditæ atque commendatæ, piæ sunt atque salutare, doctrinamque ab omnibus amplectendam continent: quare populo diligenter, expedite clareque recitandæ sunt.†

1552.

XXXIV.

†*Homelies.*

Thomelies of late geuen, and set out by the kinges auctoritie, be godlie and holsome, conteining doctrine to bee receiued of all menne, and therefore are to be readde¹ to the people diligentlie, distinctlie, and plainlie.†

¹ without omission of any part thereof, *Hooper's 44th Article.*

1562.

XXXIV.

Catalogus Homiliarum.

De recto ecclesiæ usu.
 Aduersus Idololatriæ pericula.
 De reparandis ac purgandis ecclesijs.
 De bonis operibus.
 De ieiunio.
 In gulæ atque ebrietatis uitia.
 In nimis sumptuosos uestium apparatus.
 De oratione siue precatione.
 De loco et tempore orationi destinatis.
 De publicis precibus ac Sacramentis, idiomate uulgari omnibusque noto, habendis.
 De sacrosancta uerbi divini auctoritate.
 De eleemosina.
 De Christi natiuitate.
 De dominica passione.
 De resurrectione Domini.
 De digna corporis et sanguinis dominici in cœna Domini participatione.
 De donis spiritus sancti.
 In diebus, qui uulgo Rogationum dicti sunt, concio.
 De matrimonij statu.
 De otio seu socordia.
 De pœnitentia².

1571.

XXXV.

Of Homilies.

The seconde booke of Homilies, the seuerall³ titles wherof we haue ioyned vnder this article, doth⁴ conteyne a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessarie for these tymes⁵, as doth the former booke of Homilies, whiche were set foorth in the time of⁶ Edward the sixt: and therefore we iudge them to be read in Churches⁷ by the Ministers diligently⁸, and distinctly, that they may be vnderstanded of the people.

Of⁹ the names of the Homilies.

- 1 Of the right vse of the Church.
- 2 Agaynst perill of Idolatrie.
- 3 Of repaying and keping cleane of Churches.
- 4 Of good workes, first of fastyng.
- 5 Agaynst gluttony and drunkennesse.
- 6 Against excesse of apparell.
- 7 Of prayer.
- 8 Of the place and time of prayer.
- 9 That common prayers and Sacramentes ought to be ministred in a knowen tongue.
- 10 Of the reuerente estimation of Gods worde¹⁰.
- 11 Of almes doing.
- 12 Of the Natiuitie of Christe.
- 13 Of the passion of Christe.
- 14 Of the resurrection of Christe.
- 15 Of the worthie receauing of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christe.

² The above titles are given in English by C, E, with the Homily Of Repentance, in both cases preceding that Against Idleness.

³ seuerall] wanting in LB, D.

⁴ doth] do LB, D.

⁵ these tymes] this time LB, D.

⁶ in the time of] at London vnder LB.

⁷ we iudge them to be read in churches] are to be read in our churches LB, D.

⁸ LB and D add playnely.

⁹ Of] wanting in LB, D.

¹⁰ In the Book of Homilies entitled An Information for them which take offence at certain places of Scripture.

1552.

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XXXV.

† *De Libro Præcationum & cæremoniarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*

Liber qui nuperrime autoritate Regis & Parlamenti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ traditus est, continens modum & formam orandi, & Sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana: similiter & libellus eadem autoritate editus de ordinatione ministrorum Ecclesiæ, quoad doctrinæ veritatem, pii sunt, & salutari doctrinæ Evangelii in nullo repugnant sed congruunt, & eandem non parum promovent & illustrant, atque ideo¹ ab omnibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fidelibus membris, & maximè à ministris verbi cum omni promptitudine animorum & gratiarum actione, recipiendi, approbandi, & populo Dei commendandi sunt². †

XXXVI.

De civilibus Magistratibus.

† Rex Angliæ est supremum caput in terris, post Christum, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ³. †

¹ et salutari doctrinæ...atque ideo] et quoad ceremoniarum rationem salutari Evangelii libertati si ex sua natura ceremoniæ illæ æstimentur in nullo repugnant sed probe congruunt et eandem in complurimis imprimis promovent; atque ideo *A.*

² commendandi sunt] *transposed in A.*

³ *A adds* neque in universo orbe ullum seipso majorem agnoscit a quo sua potestas et autoritas pendeat.—The Kings maty of England is to be taken and known as the only and supreame magistrate and power of the Church of England and Ireland, *Hooper's 34th Article.*

XXXV.

† *Of the booke of Praiers, and Ceremonies of the Church of Englande.*

The Booke whiche of very late time was geuen to the Church of Englande by the kinges auctoritie, and the Parlamente, conteining the maner and fourme of praiyng, and ministring the Sacramentes in the Church of Englande, likewise also the booke of ordring Ministers of the Church, set foorth by the forsaied auctoritie, are godlie, and in no pointe repugnaunt to the hol-some doctrine of the Gospel but agreable thereunto, ferthering and beautifyng the same not a litle, and therfore of al faithfull membres of the Church of Englande, and chieflie of the ministers of the worde, thei ought to be receiued, and allowed with all readinesse of minde, and thankes geuing, and to bee commended to the people of God. †

XXXVI.

Of Ciuile magistrates.

† The king of Englande is Supreme head in earth, nexte vnder Christe, of the Church of Eng-

1562.

XXXV.

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Libellus de Consecratione Archiepiscoporum & Episcoporum, & de ordinatione Presbyterorum & Diaconorum æditus nuper temporibus Edwardi sexti, & autoritate Parlamenti illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad eiusmodi consecrationem & ordinationem necessaria continet, & nihil habet quod ex se sit aut superstitiosum aut impium. Itaque quicumque iuxta ritus illius libri consecrati aut ordinati sunt ab Anno secundo prædicti Regis Edwardi, usque ad hoc tempus, aut in posterum iuxta eosdem ritus consecrabuntur aut ordinabuntur ritè, ordine, atque legitimè, statuimus esse & fore consecratos & ordinatos.

XXXVI.

De civilibus Magistratibus.

Regia Maiestas in hoc Angliæ Regno ac cæteris eius Dominijs, iure⁹ summam habet potestatem,

1571.

XXXVI.

Of consecration of Bishops and ministers⁶.

The booke of Consecration of Archbishops, and Bishops, and orderung of Priestes and Deacons, lately set foorth in the time of Edward⁷ the sixt, and confyrmed at the same tyme by authoritie of Parliament, doth conteyne all thinges necessarie to suche consecration and orderung: neyther hath it any thing, that of it selfe is superstitious or vngodly. And therefore, whosoeuer are consecrate or ordered accordyng to the rites of that booke, sence the seconde yere of the aforenamed⁸ king Edward, vnto this time, or hereafter shalbe consecrated or ordered accordyng to the same rites, we decree all such to be ryghtly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVII.

Of the¹⁰ Ciuill Magistrates.

The Queenes Maiestie hath the cheefe power in this Realme of Englande, and other her dominions,

⁴ This Homily being first printed in 1571 is not mentioned in *LB* or *D*.

⁵ Title wanting here and in *C*, but supplied as follows by *E*: De episcoporum et Ministrorum Consecratione.

⁶ Title wanting in *LB*.

⁷ of Edward] of the most noble Kinge Edward *LB*, *D*.

⁸ aforenamed] aforesaid in *D*, (but corrected into aforenamed).

⁹ iure] wanting in *C*, *E*.

¹⁰ the] wanting in *LB*.

1552.

[*Magistratus civilis est à Deo ordinatus atque probatus, quamobrem illi, non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam, obediendum est*¹.]

Romanus Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc Regno Angliæ. Magistratus civilis est à Deo ordinatus atque probatus, quamobrem illi, non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam, obediendum est¹.

Leges civiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia & gravia crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus arma portare & justa bella administrare.

1552.

lande, and Irelande.†

[]

The Bishoppe of Rome hath no iurisdiction² in this Realme of Englande.

The ciuile Magistrate is ordeined, and allowed of God: wherefore we must obeie him³, not onely for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake.

The ciuile lawes maie punishe Christien men with death, for heinous, and grieuous offences.

It is lawefull for Christians, at the commaundement of the Magistrate, to weare weapons, and to serue in laweful warres.

¹ quamobrem illi...obediendum est] quamobrem illi propter conscientiam obediendum est, nec ulli ex eius subditis licet aut vectigal aut tributum negare, ad regni seu reipublicæ statum tuendum et conservandum *A*.

² nor by God's word or of right ought to haue any maner of authority power or jurisdiction within this realme of England and Ireland or any part of the same, *Hooper's 35th Article*.

³ So that they do command nothing that is contrary unto God and his law, *Hooper's 36th Article*.

1562.

ad quam omnium statuum huius Regni, siue illi ecclesiastici sunt siue non⁴, in omnibus causis summa gubernatio pertinet, & nulli externæ iurisdictioni est subiecta, nec esse debet.

Cum Regiæ Maiestati summam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi: non damus Regibus nostris aut uerbi Dei aut sacramentorum administrationem, quod etiam Iniunctiones ab Elizabetha Regina nostra nuper æditæ, apertissimè testantur: sed eam tantum prærogatiuam, quam in sacris scripturis à Deo ipso omnibus pijs Principibus, uidemus semper fuisse attributam, hoc est, ut omnes status atque ordines fidei suæ à Deo commissos, siue illi ecclesiastici sint, siue ciuiles, in officio contineant, & contumaces ac delinquentes, gladio ciuili coërceant.

Romanus Pontifex nullam habet iurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ.

Leges Ciuiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia et grauia crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet et ex mandato Magistratus arma portare, et iusta bella administrare.

1571.

vnto whom the cheefe gouernment of all estates of this Realme, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Ciuile⁵, in all causes doth apparteine, and is not, nor ought to be subiect to any forraigne iurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queenes Maiestie the cheefe gouernment, by whiche titles we vnderstande the mindes of some slaundersous folkes to be offended: we geue not to our princes the ministering either of God's word, or of Sacraments, the which thing the Iniunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queene, doth most plainlie testifie: But that only prerogatiue whiche we see to haue ben geuen alwayes to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himselfe, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Temporal, and restraine with the ciuill sworde the stubberne and euyl doers.

The bishop of Rome hath no iurisdiction in this Realme of Englande.

The lawes of the Realme may punishe Christian men with death, for heynous and greeuous offences.

It is lawfull for Christian men, at the commaundement of the Magistrate, to weare weapons, and serue in the warres.

⁴ siue non] siue civiles *E.*

⁵ or Ciuile] or not *LB, D.*

1552.

XXXVII.

Christianorum bona non sunt Communia.

Facultates & bona Christianorum non sunt communia, quoad jus & possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistæ falsò jactant, debet tamen quisque de his quæ possidet pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus elemosynas benigne distribuere.

XXXVIII.

Licet Christinis jurare.

Quemadmodum juramentum vanum & temerarium à Domino nostro Jesu Christo & ab Apostolo ejus Jacobo, Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur, ita Christianam religionem minime prohibere censemus, quin jubente Magistratu, in causa fidei & charitatis jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in Justitia, in Judicia & Veritate.

XXXIX.

Resurrectio mortuorum nondum est facta.

Resurrectio mortuorum non adhuc facta est, quasi tantum ad animum pertineat, qui per Christi gratiam à morte peccatorum excitetur, sed extremo die quoad omnes qui obierunt, expectanda est; tunc enim vita defunctis¹ (ut Scripturæ manifestissime testantur) propria corpora, carnes & ossa restituentur, ut homo integer, prout vel recte vel perditè vixerit,

1552.

XXXVII.

Christien mennes gooddes are not commune.

The richesse and gooddes of christians are not commune, as touching the right title and possession of the same (as certain anabaptistes dooe falslie boaste); notwithstanding euery man ought of such thinges as he possesseth, liberallie to geue almes to the pore, according to his habilitie.

XXXVIII.

Christien menne maie take an Othe.

As we confesse that vaine, and rashe swearing is forbed Christien men by our Lorde Jesu Christ, and his Apostle James: so we iudge that christien religion doeth not prohibite, but that a man maie sweare, when the magistrate requireth in a cause of faith, and charitie, so it bee doen (according to the Prophetes teaching) in iustice, iudgemente, and trueth.

XXXIX.

The Resurrection of the dead is not yeat brought to passe.

The Resurrection of the dead is not as yet brought to passe, as though it only belonged to the soule, whiche by the grace of Christe is raised from the death of sinne, but it is to be looked for at the laste daie: for then (as Scripture doeth moste manifestlie testifie) to all that bee dead their awne bodies, fleshe, and bone shalbe restored, that the whole man maie (ac-

¹ defunctis] functis A.

1562.

XXXVIII.

*Christianorum bona non sunt communia*².

Facultates & bona Christianorum non sunt communia quoad ius & possessionem, vt quidam Anabaptistæ falso iactant. Debet tamen quisque de hijs quæ possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus elemosynas benigne distribuire.

XXXVIII.

*Licet Christianis Iurare*⁵.

Quemadmodum iuramentum uanum & temerarium à Domino nostro Iesu Christo, & Apostolo eius Iacobo, Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur: ita Christianam⁶ religionem minimè prohibere censemus, quin iubente Magistratu, in causa fidei & charitatis, iurare liceat, modò id fiat iuxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in iustitia, in iudicio, & ueritate.

1571.

XXXVIII.

*Of Christian mens goodes, which are not common*³.

The ryches and goodes of Christians are not common, as touching the ryght, title, and possession of the same, as certayne Anabaptistes do falsely boast. Notwithstanding euery man ought of suche thinges as he possesseth, liberally to geue almes to the poore⁴, accordyng to his habilitie.

XXXIX.

*Of a Christian mans othe*⁷.

As we confesse that vayne and rashe swearing is forbidden Christian men by our lord Jesus Christe, and James his Apostle: So we iudge that Christian religion doth not prohibite, but that a man may sweare when the Magistrate requir-eth, in a cause of faith and charitie, so it be done accordyng to the prophetes teaching, in iustice, iudgement, and trueth.

² De illicita bonorum Communicatione *E*.

³ Christen mens goodes are not common *LB, D*.

⁴ to the poore] *wanting in LB*.

⁵ De iurejurando *E*.

⁶ Christianam] *Christianorum E*.

⁷ Christian men may take an othe *LB, D*.

1552.

juxta sua opera, sive præmia
sive poenas reportet.

XL.

*Defunctorum animæ neque cum
corporibus intereunt, neque
otiose dormiunt.*

Qui animas defunctorum prædicant usque ad diem judicii absque omni sensu¹ dormire, aut illas asserunt una cum corporibus mori, & extrema die cum illis excitandas, ab orthodoxa fide, quæ nobis in sacris literis traditur, prorsus dissentiunt.

XLI.

Millenarii².

Qui *Millenariorum* fabulam revocare conantur, sacris literis adversantur, & in Judaica deliramenta sese præcipitant.

XLII.

*Non omnes tandem servandi
sunt.*

Hi quoque damnatione digni sunt, qui conantur hodie perniciosam opinionem instaurare, quòd omnes, quantumvis impii, servandi sunt tandem, cum definito tempore à justitia divina poenas de admissis flagitiis luerunt.

1552.

according to his workes) haue other rewarde, or punishment, as he hath liued vertuously, or wickedlie.

XL.

*The soulles of them that departe
this life doe neither die with
the bodies, nor sleep idlie.*

Thei whiche saie, that the soulles of suche as departe hens doe sleepe, being without al sence, fealing, or perceiung, vntil the daie of iudgement, or affirme that the soulles die with the bodies, and at the laste daie shalbe raised vp with the same, doe vtterlie dissent from the right beliefe declared to vs in holie Scripture.

XLI.

Heretickes called Millenarii.

Thei that goe about to renewe the fable of heretickes called Millenarii, be repugnant to holie Scripture, and caste them selues headlong into a Juishe dotage.

XLII.

*All men shall not bee saued at the
length.*

Thei also are worthie of condemnation, who indeuoure at this time to restore the dangerous opinion, that al menne, be thei neuer so vngodlie, shall at length bee saued, when thei haue suffered paines for their sinnes a certaine time appoint-ed by Goddes iustice.

¹ absque omni sensu] wanting in A.

² Milliarium A.

1562.

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The Books of the Holy Scriptures, as they were received by the Church, and allowed to be read and interpreted within the Church, by the power and authority of the Holy Synod of the Holy Trinity, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Dukes of the Holy See. Which books were formerly used, and are now again by the intervention of the books of the Holy Trinity, and by the authority of the Holy Synod, as the master book in the Church, in the year of our Lord 1571.

1. Of the Holy Trinity.
2. Of the Holy Trinity.
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1552.

Κύριε σῶσον τὸν Βασιλέα.

1552.

God saue the King.

1562.

Hos Articulos fidei Christianæ, continentes in uniuersum nouem decim paginas in autographo, quod asseruatur apud Reuerendissimum in Christo patrem, Dominum Matthæum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, totius Angliæ Primatem & Metropolitanum, Archiepiscopi & Episcopi utriusque Prouinciæ regni Angliæ, in sacra prouinciali Synodo legitimè congregati, unanimi assensu recipiunt & profitentur, & ut ueros atque Orthodoxos, manuum suarum subscriptionibus approbant, uicesimo nono die mensis Ianuarij: Anno Domini, secundum computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo: uniuersusque Clerus Inferioris domus, eosdem etiam unanimiter & recepit & professus est, ut ex manuum suarum subscriptionibus patet, quas obtulit & deposuit apud eundem Reuerendissimum, quinto die Februarij, Anno prædicto.

Quibus omnibus articulis, Serenissima princeps Elizabeth, dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Defensor, &c. per se ipsam diligenter prius lectis & examinatis, Regium suum assensum præbuit.

1571.

The Ratification.

This Booke of Articles before rehearsed, is agayne approued, and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realme, by the ascent and consent of our Soueraigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of GOD, of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande Queene, defender of the fayth. &c. Which Articles were deliberately read, and confirmed agayne by the subscription of the handes of the Archbyshop and Byshoppes of the vpper house, and by the subscription of the whole Cleargie in the neather house in their Conuocation, in the yere of our Lorde GOD. 1571.

- 1 Of fayth in the Trinitie.
- 2 Of Christe the sonne of GOD.
- 3 Of his goyng downe into hell.
- 4 Of his Resurrection.
- 5 Of the holy ghost.
- 6 Of the sufficiencie of the Scripture.
- 7 Of the olde Testament.
- 8 Of the three Credes.
- 9 Of originall sinne.
- 10 Of free wyll.
- 11 Of Iustification.
- 12 Of good workes.
- 13 Of workes before iustification.
- 14 Of workes of supererogation.
- 15 Of Christe alone without sinne.
- 16 Of sinne after Baptisme.
- 17 Of predestination and election.
- 18 Of obtayning saluation by Christe.
- 19 Of the Church.
- 20 Of the auctoritie of the Church.
- 21 Of the auctoritie of generall Counsels.

1552.

The House of Artificers being
referred to in the Statute, and
allowed to be held and executed
within the liberties of the said
and common of our Borough
large liberties, by the grace of
GOD, of England, France, and
Ireland, Queen, Defender of the
Faith, &c. Which Articles were
deliberately read, and confirmed
agreed by the subscription of the
heads of the Artificers, and
Heralds of the City, London, and
by the subscription of the Mayor,
Sheriffs, and the commonalty of the
City, London, in the year of our
said Lord's reign, the first year.

1. Of the City of London.

2. Of the City of London.

3. Of the City of London.

4. Of the City of London.

5. Of the City of London.

6. Of the City of London.

7. Of the City of London.

8. Of the City of London.

**Excusum Londini, apud Reginal-
dum Wolfium, Regiæ Majestatis in
Latinis Typographum, Anno Dom.
1553.**

1552.

The Artificers being
referred to in the Statute, and
allowed to be held and executed
within the liberties of the said
and common of our Borough
large liberties, by the grace of
GOD, of England, France, and
Ireland, Queen, Defender of the
Faith, &c. Which Articles were
deliberately read, and confirmed
agreed by the subscription of the
heads of the Artificers, and
Heralds of the City, London, and
by the subscription of the Mayor,
Sheriffs, and the commonalty of the
City, London, in the year of our
said Lord's reign, the first year.

**Richardus Graftonus typographus
Regius excudebat.**

Londini mense Iunii.

An. do. M.D.LIII.

**Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum
solum.**

1562.

1571.

- 22 Of Purgatorie.
- 23 Of ministring in the congregation.
- 24 Of speaking in the congregation.
- 25 Of the Sacramentes.
- 26 Of the vnworthynesse of the Ministers.
- 27 Of Baptisme.
- 28 Of the Lordes supper.
- 29 Of the wicked whiche eate not the body of Christe.
- 30 Of both kyndes.
- 31 Of Christes one oblation.
- 32 Of the mariage of Priestes.
- 33 Of excommunicate persons.
- 34 Of traditions of the Church.
- 35 Of Homilies.
- 36 Of consecration of Ministers.
- 37 Of ciuill Magistrates.
- 38 Of christian mens goods.
- 39 Of a christian mans othe.
- 40 Of the ratification.

Excusum Londini apud REGINAL-
DVM Wolfium, Regiæ Maiest. in
Latinis typographum. ANNO DOMINI.
1563.

¶ Imprinted at London in Pow-
les Churchyard, by Richarde Iugge
and Iohn Cawood, Printers to the
Queenes Maiestie, in Anno Domini
1571.

* Cum priuilegio Regiæ maiestatis.

1271

1272

- 22 Of the ...
- 23 Of ... in the ...
- 24 Of ... in the ...
- 25 Of the ...
- 26 Of the ...
- 27 Of ...
- 28 Of the ...
- 29 Of the ...
- 30 Of the ...
- 31 Of the ...
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- 40 Of the ...

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APPENDIX

No. IV.

THE ELEVEN ARTICLES,

1559.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion set out by the order of both archbishops metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops for the uniformity of doctrine, to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars and curates, as well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine to the stopping of the mouths of them, that go about to slander the ministers of the church for diversity of judgment, as necessary for the instruction of their people ; to be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates at their possession-taking, or first entry into their cures, and also after that, yearly at two several times, that is to say, the Sunday next following Easter day, and St. Michael the archangel, or on some other Sunday within one month after those feasts, immediately after the gospel.

APPENDIX

No. IV.

THE ELEVEN ARTICLES

1566.

For some account of the following Articles, see pp. 118 seqq., and for their circulation in Ireland after the year 1566, pp. 121, 174. They are here reprinted from Wilkins, iv. 195 seqq.

FORASMUCH as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers, and the pastors of the Church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith, when they shall be thereunto required; I, for my part, now appointed your parson, vicar, or curate, having before my eyes the fear of God, and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same.

First, That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things; and that
10 in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, of equal power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. I believe also whatsoever is contained in the holy canonical scriptures, in the which scriptures are contained all things necessary to salvation, by the which also all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reproved and convicted, and all doctrine and articles necessary to salvation established. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three Creeds, the Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and our common Creed called the Apostles' Creed; for these do briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set
20 forth in the holy scriptures.

III. I do acknowledge also that church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used; and that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, clean to put away ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused, and to constitute other making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

IV. Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such
30 only as are lawfully thereunto called by their high authorities, according to the ordinances of this realm.

V. Furthermore I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm, and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort, as is in the late act of parliament

expressed, and sithence by her majesty's Injunctions declared and expounded.

VI. Moreover, touching the bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the scriptures and word of God he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and dioceses; and therefore the power, which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church, and therefore is for most just causes taken away and 10 abolished in this realm.

VII. Furthermore I do grant and confess, that the book of common prayer and administration of the holy sacraments, set forth by the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the scriptures, and that it is catholic, apostolic, and most for the advancing of God's glory, and the edifying of God's people, both for that it is in a tongue, that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of ministration contained in the same.

VIII. And although in the administration of baptism there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used, 20 and for that they were of late years abused and esteemed necessary, where they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, that they be reasonably abolished, and yet the sacrament full and perfectly ministered to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

IX. Moreover, I do not only acknowledge, that private masses were never used amongst the fathers of the primitive church, I mean, public ministration and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to Christ's saying, "Take ye and eat ye," etc. but also, that the doctrine, that maintaineth 30 the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic, but contrarywise most ungodly and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Christ, and his only sufficient sacrifice offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

X. I am of that mind also, that the holy communion or sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, for the due obedience to Christ's institution, and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be ministered unto the people under both kinds; and that it is avouched by certain 40 fathers of the church to be a plain sacrilege, to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood, seeing he

himself hath said, "Drink ye all of this:" considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the Church, as Cyprian, Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after Christ and more, both the parts of the sacrament were ministered to the people.

10 Last of all, as I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles, and also all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by man's fantasies, besides or contrary to the scriptures, as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such like superstition; which kind of works have no promise of reward in scripture, but contrarywise threatenings and maledictions; so I do exhort all men to the obedience of God's law, and to the works of faith, as charity, mercy, pity, alms, devout and frequent prayer with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only, godly abstinence and fasting, charity, obedience to the rulers, and superior powers, with such like works and godliness of life commanded by God in his word, which, as St Paul saith, "hath promises both of this life and of the life to come," and are works only acceptable in God's sight.

20 These things above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet I do without all compulsion, with freedom of mind, and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true and agreeable to God's word; and therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same, that we all joining together in unity of spirit, faith and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire now and for ever. Amen.

Article appeared in the *North American Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1835, p. 10. It is a translation of the original Latin text of the same name, which appeared in the *North American Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1835, p. 10.

The following is a copy of the Lambeth Articles, in the form in which they were presented to the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, in the year 1594. It is a translation of the original Latin text, which appeared in the *North American Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1835, p. 10. The text is a translation of the original Latin text, which appeared in the *North American Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1835, p. 10.

APPENDIX

No. V.

XXIX. *Eccl. Anglican. Breviarium.*
LAMBETH ARTICLES.

The following is a copy of the Lambeth Articles, in the form which they finally assumed. It is taken from Strype, *Whitgift*, 461, who thought it worthy of being entitled a 'correct and authentic' version. The truth is that we must carefully distinguish between the 'Articuli a D. Whitakero Lambethæ propositi,' and the 'Articuli approbati:' and for the sake of impressing this difference on the reader, the original theses are subjoined, together with a number of emendations suggested by the bishops, to whom they were afterwards presented. The commentary or *critique* of Whitgift and the rest, is preserved in a small publication, entitled 'Articuli Lambethani,' Lond. 1651, and afterwards appended to Elis's 'Artic. XXXIX. Eccl. Anglican. Defensio.'

Articuli approbati a reverendissimis Dominis, D.D.
Joanne Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et Richardo
Episcopo Londinensi, et aliis Theologis, Lambethæ,
Novembris 20, Anno 1595.

- I. Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.
- II. Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.
- III. Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.
- IV. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.
- V. Vera, viva et justificans fides, et spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter aut totaliter.
- VI. Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plerophoria fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.
- VII. Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si voluerint.
- VIII. Nemo potest venire ad Christum nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad Filium.
- IX. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

Articuli Lambethæ propo-
siti prout a cl. V. D.
Whitakero in ipsius au-
tographo concepti, Epi-
scopis aliisque Theologis
Lambethæ proponeban-
tur.

I.

*Deus ab æterno prædestinavit
quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam ad
mortem reprobavit.*

‘increduli;’ lis hic non intenditur, sed est verissimus Articulus.

II.

*Causa efficiens Prædestinationis
non est prævisio fidei, aut perse-
verantiæ, aut bonorum operum,
aut ullius rei quæ in sit personis
prædestinatis, sed sola et absoluta
et simplex voluntas Dei.*

a Lambethanis 1° ‘movens;’ 2° ‘ad vitam;’ 3° mutatur ‘sola absoluta et simplex voluntas Dei,’ in ‘sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei;’ idque non sine justa ratione. Causa enim movens prædestinationis ‘ad vitam,’ non est ‘fides,’ sed ‘meritum Christi,’ cum Deus servandis salutem destinavit non propter fidem, sed propter Christum. ‘Moventis’ vocabulum proprie ‘merito’ convenit: Meritum autem est in obedientia Christi, non in fide nostra. Additur ‘ad vitam,’ quia licet prædestinationis ‘ad mortem’ causa sit ‘prævisio’ infidelitatis et impœnitentiæ, adeoque alicujus rei quæ insit personis prædestinatis ‘ad mortem;’ 30 tamen nulla est causa prædestinationis ‘ad vitam,’ nisi sola ‘voluntas beneplaciti Dei;’ juxta illud Augustini, ‘Prædestinationis causa quæritur et non invenitur; reprobationis vero causa quæritur et invenitur.’ ‘Absoluta et simplex voluntas Dei’ majus quiddam dicit, quam sola voluntas beneplaciti. Nam et conditionalis voluntas est beneplaciti, et vult Deus nos recte facere, si nos velimus ejus gratiæ non deesse: et placuit Deo servare singulos homines, si crederent.

Articuli Lambethæ propo-
siti prout ab Episcopis re-
liquisque Theologis con-
cepti sunt, et de sensu,
quo admissi sunt.

I.

Admissus est hic Articulus to-
tidem verbis. Nam si per primum
‘quosdam’ intelligantur ‘creden-
tes,’ per secundum ‘quosdam,’ 10

‘increduli;’ lis hic non intenditur, sed est verissimus Articulus.

II.

Causa movens aut efficiens Præ-
destinationis ‘ad vitam’ non est
‘prævisio’ fidei aut perseverantiæ,
aut bonorum operum aut alius rei,
quæ insit in personis prædestinatis;
sed ‘sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.’ 20

Additur in hoc secundo Articulo

III.

Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

vel pauciores servantur quam Deus præsciverit.

IV.

Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata
10 *condemnabuntur.*

thesin et priorem interpreteris ut et 'peccata' et 'damnationem' necessitate quadam ex ipsa prædestinatione deducas atque ex ea fluere existimes, aperte Augustino, Prospero, Fulgentio, &c. contradicis, et cum Manichæis, Deum peccati autorem necesse est facias.

V.

Vera, viva et justificans fides et Spiritus Dei sanctificans non ex-
stinguitur, non excidit, non eva-
20 *nescit, in iis qui semel ejus par-*
ticipes fuerunt, aut totaliter aut
finaliter.

Lambethanis substituta sunt 'in electis,' sensu plane alio et ad mentem Augustini; cum in autographo sint ad mentem Calvini. Augustinus enim opinatus est, 'veram fidem quæ per dilectionem operatur, per quam contingit adoptio, justificatio et sanctificatio, posse et intercidi et amitti: fidem vero esse commune donum electis et reprobis, sed perseverantiam electis propriam.' Calvinus autem, 'veram et justificantem fidem solis salvandis et electis contingere.' Et cl. v. D. Overal defendit
30 et in Academia et in Conventu Hamptoniensi¹, 'justificatum, si incidat in graviora peccata, antequam poenitentiam agat, in statu esse damnationis:' ibique contraria sententia quæ statuit, 'justificatum, etiamsi in peccata graviora incidat, justificatum tamen manere,' a Regia Majestate damnata est: ita in hoc Articulo nihil minus quam Whitakeri sententia probata est.

VI.

Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide
justificante præditus, certus est,

III.

In hoc Articulo nihil mutatur: verissimus enim est si de præscientia Dei intelligatur quæ nunquam fallitur. Non enim plures

IV.

In hoc Articulo nihil mutatur; verissimus enim est; quia statuit Deus non remittere peccata nisi credentibus. Quod si ita, hanc

V.

Vera, viva et justificans fides et spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit, in 'electis' aut totaliter, aut finaliter. In autographo Whitakeri verba erant, 'in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt;' pro quibus a

VI.

'Homo vere fidelis, id est fide justificante præditus,' certus est

¹ See above, p. 206.

certitudine fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

‘plerophoria fidei’ de ‘remissione’ peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum. Nihil hic mutatur, nisi quod pro ‘certitudine’ substituitur vox Græca ‘plerophoria.’ Quidam autem ex theologis voluerunt, pro fidei plerophoria, reponi spei plerophoriam: verum eorum absentia cum transigeretur negotium, effecit ut maneret vox ‘fidei’ quam scripserat Whitakerus. Voce autem ‘plerophoriæ’ usi sunt, quia non designat plenam et absolutam certitudinem, qualis est ‘scientiæ vel principiorum fidei,’ (cum fides sit talium rerum, quarum est evidentia vel certa scientia), sed minorem quendam certitudinis gradum, quippe cum etiam in judiciariis et forensibus probationibus usurpetur. 10

Verissimus est hic articulus, si de certitudine præsentis status intelligatur, aut etiam futuri, sed conditionata. Credit enim fidelis se credere, et credit credentem servatum iri; credit etiam perseveraturum se; sed non una omnino et eadem certitudine: quia certitudo hæc partim nititur Dei promissionibus, qui nos tentari ultra vires non patitur; partim pii propositi sinceritate, qua pro tempore futuro nos Deo obedientiam præstituros sancte in nos recipimus. 20

Alioqui si hic sensus affingitur assertioni, ‘hominem certitudine eadem, qua Christum credit mortuum et esse mundi salvatorem, credere debere, se esse servandum, sive electum,’ repugnaret hæc assertio Confessioni regis Edvardi, in qua legitur, ‘decretum prædestinationis incognitum est;’ et Augustino, ‘Prædestinatio apud nos, dum in præsentis vitæ periculis versamur, incerta est.’ *De Civit. Dei*, Lib. XI. cap. 12, et alibi, ‘Justi, licet de suæ perseverantiæ præmio certi sint, tamen de ipsa perseverantia reperiuntur incerti.’

VII.

Gratia sufficiens ad salutem non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si velint.

VII.

Gratia ‘salutaris’ non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si velint. Pro ‘gratia sufficienti ad salutem,’ quod erat

in Whitakeri autographo substituerunt Lambethani, ‘gratiam salutarem;’ ut plane appareat loqui eos de ea gratia, quæ est actu ultimo salutaris sive actu efficax, seu quæ per se, non addita nova gratia, salutem operatur. Hæc quidem non conceditur, sed ne offertur universis, cum sint plurimi (utpote pagani, &c.) quibus Evangelium nec interna nec externa voce prædicetur. Ergo illa verba ‘qua servari possint si velint’ intelligenda sunt de potentia proxima et immediata. 40

Nam si de potentia remotiore intellexissent, frustra induxissent vocem 'gratiæ sufficientis,' quæ 'sufficiens' appellari solet, non quod sit efficax, vel per se actu operetur salutem, sed quod sufficiens sit ad salutem ducere, modo homo non ponat obicem. Et hæc Augustini et Prosperi fuit sententia, qui 'gratiam saltem parciorem, occultioremq; omnibus datam' aiunt, et talem quidem quæ ad remedium sufficeret. Unde Fulgentius, 'Quod non adjuvantur quidam a gratia Dei, in ipsis causa est, non in Deo.'

VIII.

VIII.

10 *Nemo potest venire ad Christum nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit: et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad filium.*

In hoc Articulo nihil mutatum: non omnes trahuntur tractu ultimo. Sed qui negat omnes trahi tractu remotiore tollit opitulationem illam generalem, sive commune auxilium

quo omnium hominum corda pulsari dicit Prosper. Tractum autem Theologi Lambethani non intellexerunt (cum Whitakero) 'determinationem physicam irresistibilem;' sed divinam operationem (prout communiter in conversione hominis operatur) quæ naturam voluntatis liberam non tollit, sed ad bonum spirituale idoneam primo facit, deinde et ipsam bonam facit.

IX.

IX.

Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

In hoc quoque nihil mutatum: verissimum enim est, salutem nostram esse primario non in nobis, sed a gratia præveniente, excitante,

concomitante et subsequente in omni opere bono; secundario ab arbitrio et voluntate hominis consentiente atque acceptante. Nulla potestas est arbitrii ad bonum spirituale, nisi gratia non modo tollat impedimenta, 30 sed et vires suppeditet. Non est ergo positum in arbitrio 'primitus et potissimum;' imo nullo modo in arbitrio est positum, ut homo quilibet quolibet momento ad salutem possit pervenire. At vero esse aliquam aliquando in arbitrio potestatem gratiæ subordinatam et gratiæ consentientem, nemo inficias iverit, qui Augustinum audiverit: 'Dum tempus est, (inquit,) dum in nostra potestate est opera bona facere:' et alibi, de pœnis inferni loquens: Majus est (inquit) quod timere debes, et in potestate habes ne eveniat tibi.

APPENDIX

No. VI.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION,

AGREED VPON BY

THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS,

AND THE REST OF THE CLEARGIE OF IRELAND,

In the Conuocation holden at Dublin in the yeare of our
Lord God 1615, for the auoiding of Diuersities of
Opinions, and the establishing of consent
touching true Religion.

For some account of the formation and authority of these Articles, see above, pp. 175 seqq. They are now reprinted from a copy of the original edition, which is appended to Dr Elrington's *Life of Archbishop Ussher*.

IRISH ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

Of the holy Scripture and the three Creeds.

1. The ground of our Religion, and the rule of faith and all saving trueth is the word of God, contained in the holy Scripture.

2. By the name of holy Scripture we understand all the Canonick Bookes of the Old and New Testament, viz.:

Of the Old Testament.

The 5 Bookes of Moses.

Iosua.

Iudges.

Ruth.

The first and second of
Samuel.

The first and second of
Kings.

The first and second of
Chronicles.

Esra.

Nehemiah.

Esther.

Iob.

Psalmes.

Prouerbes.

Ecclesiastes.

The Song of Salomon.

Isaiah.

Ieremiah, his Prophetie and La-
mentation.

Ezechiel.

Daniel.

The 12 lesse Prophets.

Of the new Testament.

The Gospells according
to

Matthew.

Marke.

Luke.

Iohn.

The Actes of the Apostles.

The Epistle of S. Paul to the
Romaines.

Corinthians 2.

Galathians.

Ephesians.

Philippians.

Colossians.

Thessalonians 2.

Timothie 2.

Titus.

Philemon.

Hebrewes.

The Epistle of S. Iames.

Saint Peter 2.

Saint Iohn. 3.

Saint Iude.

The Reuelation of S. Iohn.

All which wee acknowledge to be giuen by the inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certaine credit and highest authority.

3. The other Bookes, commonly called *Apocryphall*, did not proceede from such inspiration, and therefore are not of sufficient authoritie to establish any point of doctrine ; but the Church doth reade them as Bookes containing many worthy things for example of life and instruction of maners.

Such are these following :

The thirde booke of Esdras.	Baruch, with the Epistle of Ieremiah.
The fourth booke of Esdras.	
The booke of Tobias.	The song of the three Children.
The booke of Iudith.	Susanna.
Additions to the booke of Esther.	Bell and the Dragon.
The booke of Wisedome.	The praier of Manasses.
The booke of Iesus, the Sonne of Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus.	The First booke of Macchabees.
	The second booke of Macchabees.

4. The Scriptures ought to be translated out of the original tongues into all languages for the common use of all men : neither is any person to be discouraged from reading the Bible in such a language, as he doth vnderstand, but seriously exhorted to read the same with great humilitie and reuerence, as a speciall meanes to bring him to the true knowledge of God, and of his owne duty.

5. Although there bee some hard things in the Scripture (especially such as haue proper relation to the times in which they were first vttered, and propheties of things which were afterwarde to bee fulfilled), yet all things necessary to be knowen vnto euerlasting saluation are cleerely deliuered therein : and nothing of that kinde is spoken vnder darke mysteries in one place, which is not in other places spoken more familiarly and plainely, to the capacitie both of learned and vnlearned.

6. The holy Scriptures containe all things necessary to saluation, and are able to instruct sufficiently in all points of faith that we are bound to beleue, and all good duties that we are bound to practise.

7. All and euerie the Articles contained in the *Nicene Creede*, the *Creede* of *Athanasius*, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles Creede*, ought firmly to bee receiued and beleueed, for they may be proued by most certaine warrant of holy Scripture.

Of faith in the holy Trinitie.

8. There is but one liuing and true God, euerlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodnes, the maker and preseruer of all things, both visible and inuisible. And in vnitie of this Godhead, there be three persons of one and the same

substance power and eternitie: the Father, the Sone, and the holy Ghost.

9. The essence of the Father doth not begett the essence of the Sonne; but the person of the Father begetteth the person of the Sonne, by communicating his whole essence to the person begotten from eternitie.

10. The holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, is of one substance, maiestie, and glory, with the Father and the Sonne, very and eternall God.

Of God's eternall decree, and Predestination.

11. God from all eternitie did by his vnchangeable counsell ordaine whatsoeuer in time should come to passe: yet so, as thereby no violence is offred to the wills of the reasonable creatures, and neither the libertie nor the contingencie of the second causes is taken away, but established rather.

12. By the same eternall counsell God hath predestinated some vnto life, and reprobated some vnto death: of both which there is a certaine number, knowen only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished¹.

13. Predestination to life, is the euerlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were layed, he hath constantly decreed in his secret counsell to deliuer from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankinde, and to bring them by Christ vnto euerlasting saluation, as vessels made to honor.

14. The cause mouing God to predestinate vnto life, is not the foreseeing of faith, or perseuerance, or good workes, or of anything which is in the person predestinated, but onely the good pleasure of God himselfe². For all things being ordained for the manifestation of his glory, and his glory being to appeare both in the workes of his Mercy and of his Iustice; it seemed good to his heauenly wisdom to choose out a certaine number towards whome he would extend his vnderdeserued mercy, leauing the rest to be spectacles of his iustice.

15. Such as are predestinated vnto life, be called according vnto Gods purpose (his spirit working in due season) and through grace they obey the calling, they bee iustified freely, they bee made sonnes of God by adoption, they be made like the image of his onely begotten Sonne Iesus Christ, they walke religiously in good workes, and at length, by God's mercy they attaine to euerlasting felicitie. But such

¹ [Lambeth Articles, I. III.]

² [Ibid. II.]

as are not predestinated to saluation, shall finally be condemned for their sinnes¹.

16. The godlike consideration of Predestination and our election in Christ, is full of sweete, pleasant, and vnspeakeable comfort to godly persons, and such as feelee in themselues the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the workes of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing vp their mindes to high and heauenly things: as well because it doth greatly confirme and establish their faith of eternall saluation to be enioyed through Christ, as because it doth feruently kindle their loue towards God: and on the contrary side, for curious and carnall persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to haue continually before their eies the sentence of Gods predestination, is very dangerous.

17. Wee must receiue Gods promises in such wise as they be generally set forth vnto vs in holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we haue expressly declared vnto vs in the word of God.

Of the creation and gouernement of all things.

18. In the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his word alone, in the space of sixe dayes, created all things, and afterwarde by his prouidence doth continue, propagate, and order them according to his owne will.

19. The principall creatures are Angels and men.

20. Of Angels, some continued in that holy state wherein they were created, and are by God's grace for euer established therein: others fell from the same, and are reserued in chaines of darkenesse vnto the iudgement of the great day.

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the image of God (which consisted especially in the Wisedome of his minde and the true Holyness of his free will) had the couenant of the lawe ingrafted in his heart: whereby God did promise vnto him euerlasting life, vpon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience unto his Commandements, according to that measure of strength wherewith hee was endued in his creation, and threatned death vnto him if he did not performe the same.

Of the fall of man, originall sinne, and the state of man before iustification.

22. By one man sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne; and so death went ouer all men, for as much as all haue sinned.

¹ [Lambeth Articles, 1v.]

23. Originall sinne standeth not in the imitation of Adam (as the Pelagians dreame) but is the fault and corruption of the nature of euery person that naturally is ingendred and propagated from Adam: whereby it commeth to passe that man is depriued of originall righteousness, and by nature is bent vnto sinne. And therefore, in euery person borne into the world, it deserueth Gods wrath and damnation.

24. This corruption of nature doth remaine euen in those that are regenerated, whereby the flesh alwaies lusteth against the spirit, and cannot bee made subject to the lawe of God. And howsoever, for Christs sake there bee no condemnation to such as are regenerate and doe beleue: yet doth the Apostle acknowledge that in it selfe this concupiscence hath the nature of sinne.

25. The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turne, and prepare himselfe by his owne naturall strength and good workes, to faith, and calling vpon God. Wherefore we haue no power to doe good workes, pleasing and acceptable vnto God, without the grace of God preuenting vs, that we may haue a good will, and working with vs when wee haue that good will.

26. Workes done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasing vnto God, for as much as they spring not of faith in Iesus Christ, neither do they make men meete to receaue grace, or (as the Schoole Authors say) deserue grace of congruitie: yea rather, for that they are not done in such sorte as God hath willed and commaunded them to be done, we doubt not but they are sinfull.

27. All sinnes are not equall, but some farre more heynous than others; yet the very least is of its owne nature mortall, and without Gods mercy maketh the offender lyable vnto euerlasting damnation.

28. God is not the Author of sinne: howbeit he doth not only permitt, but also by his prouidence gouerne and order the same, guiding it in such sorte by his infinite wisdom, as it turneth to the manifestation of his owne glory and to the good of his elect.

Of Christ, the mediator of the second Covenant.

29. The Sonne, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from euerlasting of the Father, the true and eternall God, of one substance with the Father, tooke mans nature in the wombe of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhoode were inseparably ioyned in one person, making one Christ very God and very man.

30. Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like vnto vs in all things, sinne only excepted, from which he was cleerely voyd, both in his life and in his nature. He came as a Lambe without spott, to take

away the sins of the world, by the sacrifice of himselfe once made, and sinne (as *Saint Iohn* saith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for vs perfectly: For our sakes he endured most grievous torments immediately in his soule, and most painefull sufferings in his body. He was crucified, and dyed to reconcile his Father vnto vs, and to be a sacrifice not onely for originall guilt, but also for all our actuall transgressions. He was buried and descended into hell, and the third day rose from the dead, and tooke againe his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of mans nature: wherewith he ascended into Heauen, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, vntil hee returne to iudge all men at the last day.

Of the communicating of the grace of Christ.

31. They are to be condemned, that presume to say that euery man shalbe saued by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out vnto vs only the name of Iesus Christ whereby men must be saued.

32. None can come vnto Christ, vnlesse it bee giuen vnto him, and vnlesse the Father drawe him. And all men are not so drawn by the Father that they may come vnto the Son. Neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto euerie man whereby he is enabled to come vnto everlasting life¹.

33. All Gods elect are in their time inseperablye vnited vnto Christ by the effectuall and vitall influence of the holy Ghost, deriued from him as from the head vnto euery true member of his mysticall body. And being thus made one with Christ, they are truely regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits.

Of Iustification and Faith.

34. We are accounted righteous before God, onely for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, applied by faith; and not for our owne workes or merits. And this righteousnes, which we so receiue of Gods mercie and Christs merits, imbraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full iustification.

35. Although this iustification be free vnto vs, yet it commeth not so freely vnto vs, that there is no ransome paid therefore at all. God shewed his great mercie in deliuering vs from our former captiuitie, without requiring of any ransome to be payd, or amends to be made on our parts; which thing by vs had been vnpossible to bee done. And whereas all the world was not able of themselues to pay any part

¹ [Lambeth Articles, VII. VIII. IX.]

towards their ransome, it pleased our heavenly Father of his infinite mercie without any desert of ours, to prouide for vs the most precious merits of his owne Sonne, whereby our ransome might be fully payd, the lawe fulfilled, and his iustice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousnes of all them that truely beleue in him. Hee for them payd their ransome by his death. He for them fulfilled the lawe in his life. That now in him, and by him euerie true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the lawe: forasmuch as that which our infirmitie was not able to effect, Christs iustice hath performed. And thus the iustice and mercie of God doe embrace each other: the grace of God not shutting out the iustice of God in the matter of our iustification; but onely shutting out the iustice of man (that is to say, the iustice of our own workes) from being any cause of deseruing our iustification.

36. ¹ When we say that we are iustified by Faith onely, we doe not meane that the said iustifying faith is alone in man, without true Repentance, Hope, Charity, and the feare of God (for such a faith is dead, and cannot iustifie), neither do we meane, that this our act to beleue in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within vs, doth of it selfe iustifie vs, or deserue our iustification vnto vs, (for that were to account our selues to bee iustified by the vertue or dignitie of some thing that is within our selues :) but the true vnderstanding and meaning thereof is that although we heare Gods word and beleue it, although we haue Faith, Hope, Charitie, Repentance, and the feare of God within us, and adde neuer so many good workes thereunto: yet wee must renounce the merit of all our said vertues, of Faith, Hope, Charitie, and all our other vertues, and good deeds, which we either haue done, shall doe, or can doe, as things that be farre too weake and vnperfect, and vnsufficient to deserue remission of our sinnes, and our iustification: and therefore we must trust onely in Gods mercie, and the merits of his most dearely beloued Sonne, our onely Redeemer, Sauour, and Iustifier Iesus Christ. Neuerthelesse, because Faith doth directly send vs to Christ for our iustification, and that by faith given vs of God wee embrace the promise of Gods mercie, and the remission of our sinnes, (which thing none other of our vertues or workes properly doth :) therefore the Scripture vseth to say, that *Faith without workes*; and the auncient fathers of the Church to the same purpose, that *onely Faith* doth iustifie vs.

37. By iustifying Faith wee vnderstand not onely the common beleefe of the Articles of Christian Religion, and a perswasion of the truth of Gods worde in generall: but also a particular application of

¹ [Cf. Homily, Of Salvation, Part II. p. 24, ed. Camb.]

the gracious promises of the Gospell, to the comfort of our owne soules : whereby we lay hold on Christ, with all his benefits, hauing an earnest trust and confidence in God, that he will be mercifull vnto vs for his onely Sonnes sake. So that a true beleeuers may bee certaine, by the assurance of faith, of the forgiuenesse of his sinnes, and of his euerlasting salvation by Christ¹.

38. A true liuely iustifying faith, and the sanctifying spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor vanisheth away in the regenerate, either finally or totally².

Of sanctification and good workes.

39. All that are iustified, are likewise sanctified: their faith being alwaies accompanied with true Repentance and good Workes.

40. Repentance is a gift of God, whereby a godly sorrow is wrought in the heart of the faithfull, for offending God their mercifull Father by their former transgressions, together with a constant resolution for the time to come to cleaue unto God, and to lead a new life.

41. Albeit that good workes, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after iustification, cannot make satisfaction for our sinnes, and endure the seueritie of Gods iudgement: yet are they pleasing to God and accepted of him in Christ, and doe spring from a true and liuely faith, which by them is to be discerned, as a tree by the fruite.

42. The workes which God would haue his people to walke in, are such as he hath commaunded in his holy Scripture, and not such workes as men haue deuised out of their own braine, of a blind zeale, and deuotion, without the warrant of the word of God.

43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the lawe of God perfectly in this life. For in many things we offend all: and if we say, we haue no sinne, wee deceaue our selues, and the truth is not in vs.

44. Not euerie heynous sinne willingly committed after baptisme, is sinne against the holy Ghost, and vnpardonable. And therefore to such as fall into sinne after baptisme, place for repentance is not to be denied.

45. Voluntary workes, besides ouer and aboue Gods commandments, which they call workes of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancie and impietie. For by them men doe declare that they doe not onely render vnto God as much as they are bound to doe, but that they doe more for his sake then of bounden duty is required.

¹ [Lambeth Articles, vi.]

² [Ibid. v.]

Of the seruice of God.

46. Our dutie towards God is to beleue in him, to feare him, and to loue him with all our heart, with all our minde, and with all our soule, and with all our strength, to worship him, and to giue him thanks, to put our whole trust in him, to call vpon him, to honour his holy Name and his word, and to serue him truely all the dayes of our life¹.

47. In all our necessities we ought to haue recourse vnto God by prayer: assuring our selues, that whatsoeuer we aske of the Father, in the name of his Sonne (our onely mediator and intercessor) Christ Iesus, and according to his will, he will vndoubtedly grant it.

48. Wee ought to prepare our hearts before wee pray, and vnderstand the things that wee aske when wee pray: that both our hearts and voyces may together sound in the eares of Gods Maiestie.

49. When almightie God smiteth vs with affliction, or some great calamitie hangeth ouer vs, or any other waighty cause so requireth; it is our dutie to humble our selues in fasting, to bewaile our sinnes with a sorrowfull heart, and to addict our selues to earnest prayer, that it might please God to turne his wrath from vs, or supplie vs with such graces as wee greatly stand in neede of.

50. ²Fasting is a with-holding of meat, drinke, and all naturall foode, with other outward delights, from the body, for the determined time of fasting. As for those abstinences which are appointed by publike order of our state, for eating of fish and forbearing of flesh at certaine times and daies appointed, they are no wayes ment to bee religious fastes, nor intended for the maintenance of any superstition in the choice of meates, but are grounded meerely vpon politicke considerations, for prouision of things tending to the better preservation of the Commonwealth.

51. Wee must not fast with this perswasion of minde, that our fasting can bring vs to heauen, or ascribe holynesse to the outward worke wrought. For God alloweth not our fast for the worke sake (which of it selfe is a thing meerely indifferent), but chiefly respecteth the heart, how it is affected therein. It is therefore requisit that first before all things we cense our hearts from sinne, and then direct our fast to such ends as God will allow to bee good: that the flesh may thereby be chastised, the spirit may be more feruent in prayer, and that our fasting may bee a testimony of our humble submission to Gods maiestie, when wee acknowledge our sinnes vnto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulnesse of heart, bewailing the same in the affliction of our bodies.

¹ [From the 'Catechism.']

² [Cf. Homily, Of Fasting, p. 284.]

52. All worship deuised by mans phantasie, besides or contrary to the Scriptures (as wandring on Pilgrimages, setting vp of Candles, Stations, and Iubilies, Pharisaicall sects and fained religions, praying vpon Beades, and such like superstition) hath not onely no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariewise threatnings and maledictions.

53. All manner of expressing God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, in an outward forme, is vtterly vnlawfull. As also all other images deuised or made by man to the use of Religion.

54. All religious worship ought to bee giuen to God alone; from whome all goodnesse, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for, as from the very author and giuer of the same, and from none other.

55. The name of God is to be vsed with all reuerence and holy respect: and therefore all vaine and rash swearing is vtterly to be condemned. Yet notwithstanding vpon lawfull occasions, an oath may be giuen, and taken, according to the word of God, *iustice, iudgement, and truth.*

56. The first day of the weeke, which is the *Lords day*, is wholly to be dedicated unto the seruice of God: and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily buysnesse, and to bestow that leasure vpon holy exercises, both publike and priuate.

Of the Ciuill Magistrate.

57. The Kings Maiesty vnder God hath the Soueraigne and chiefe power, within his Realmes and Dominions, ouer all manner of persons, of what estate, either Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill, soeuer they bee; so as no other forraine power hath or ought to haue any superiority ouer them.

58. Wee doe professe that the supreame gouernement of all estates within the said Realmes and Dominions, in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, doth of right appertaine to the Kings highnes. Neither doe we giue vnto him hereby the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the Keyes: but that prerogatiue onely, which we see to haue been alwaies giuen vnto all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himselfe; that is, that hee should containe all estates and degree committed to his charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill, within their duty, and restraine the stubborne and euill doers with the power of the Ciuill swoorde.

59. The Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authoritie of the Church or Sea of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King, or dispose any of his

Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorise any other Prince to inuade or annoy him or his Countries, or to discharge any of his subiects of their allegiance and obedience to his Maiestie, or to giue licence or leaue to any of them to beare armes, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Royall person, state, or gouernement, or to any of his subiects within his Maiesties Dominions.

60. That Princes which be excommunicated or depriued by the Pope, may be deposed or murthered by their subiects, or any other whatsoeuer, is impious doctrine.

61. The lawes of the Realme may punish Christian men with death for heynous and grievous offences.

62. It is lawfull for Christian men, at the commandement of the Magistrate, to beare armes, and to serue in iust wars.

Of our duty towards our Neighbours.

63. ¹Ovr duty towards our neighbours is, to loue them as our selues, and to do to all men as we would they should doe to us; to honour and obey our Superiours, to preserue the safety of mens persons, as also their chastitie, goods, and good names; to beare no malice nor hatred in our hearts; to keepe our bodies in temperance, sobernes, and chastitie; to be true and iust in all our doings; not to couet other mens goodes, but labour truely to get our owne liuing, and to doe our dutie in that estate of life vnto which it pleaseth God to call us.

64. For the preseruatiō of the chastitie of mens persons, wedlocke is commaunded vnto all men that stand in need thereof. Neither is there any prohibition by the word of God, but that the ministers of the Church may enter into the state of Matrimony: they being nowhere commaunded by Gods Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstaine from marriage. Therefore it is lawfull also for them, as well as for all other Christian men, to marrie at their owne discretion, as they shall iudge the same to serue better to godlines.

65. The riches and goodes of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same: as certaine Anabaptists falsely affirme. Notwithstanding euerie man ought of such things as hee possesseth, liberally to giue almes to the poore, according to his ability.

66. Faith giuen, is to be kept, even with Hereticks and Infidells.

67. The Popish doctrine of Equiuocation & mentall Reseruatiō, is most vngodly, and tendeth plainely to the subuersion of all humaine society.

¹ [Cf. 'Catechism.']

Of the Church, and outward ministry of the Gospell.

68. There is but one Catholike Church (out of which there is no saluation) containing the uniuersall company of all the Saints that euer were, are, or shalbe, gathered together in one body, vnder one head Christ Iesus: part whereof is already in heaven *triumphant*, part as yet *militant* heere vpon earth. And because this Church consisteth of all those, and those alone, which are elected by God vnto saluation, & regenerated by the power of his spirit, the number of whome is known only vnto God himselfe; therefore it is called the *Catholike* or vniversall, and the *Inuisible* Church.

69. But particular and visible Churches (consisting of those who make profession of the faith of Christ, and liue vnder the outward meanes of saluation) be many in number: wherein the more or lesse sincerely according to Christs institution, the word of God is taught, the Sacraments are administred, and the authority of the Keyes is vsed, the more or lesse pure are such Churches to bee accounted.

70. Although in the visible Church the euill bee euer mingled with the good, and sometimes the euill haue chiefe authoritie in the ministration of the word & Sacraments: yet, for as much as they doe not the same in their owne name, but in Christs, and minister by his commission and authority, we may vse their ministry both in hearing the word and in receauing the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christs ordinance taken away by their wickednesse: nor the grace of Gods gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly doe receaue the Sacraments ministred vnto them; which are effectually, because of Christs institution and promise, although they be ministred by euill men. Neuerthelesse it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of euill ministers, and that they be accused by those that haue knowledge of their offences, and finally being found guiltie, by iust iudgement bee deposed.

71. It is not lawfull for any man to take vpon him the office of publike preaching or ministring the Sacraments in the Church, vnless hee bee first lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfully called and sent, which bee chosen and called to this worke by men who haue publike authoritie giuen them in the Church, to call and send ministers into the Lords vineyard.

72. To haue publike prayer in the Church, or to administer the Sacraments in a tongue not vnderstood of the people, is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custome of the Primitive Church.

73. That person which by publike denunciation of the Church is

rightly cut off from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to bee taken of the whole multitude of the faithfull, as a Heathen and Publican, vntill by Repentance he be openly reconciled and receaued into the Church, by the iudgement of such as haue authoritie in that behalfe.

74. God hath giuen power to his ministers, not simply to forgiue sinnes, (which prerogatiue he hath reserued onely to himselfe) but in his name to declare and pronounce vnto such as truely repent and vnfainedly beleue his holy Gospell, the absolution and forgiuenesse of sinnes. Neither is it Gods pleasure that his people should bee tied to make a particular confession of all their knowen sinnes vnto any mortall man: howsoeuer any person grieued in his conscience, vpon any speciall cause, may well resorte vnto any godly and learned Minister, to receaue aduise and comfort at his hands.

Of the authoritie of the Church, generall Councells, and Bishop of Rome.

75. It is not lawfull for the Church to ordaine any thing that is contrary to Gods word: neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church bee a witnesse, and a keeper of holy writt: yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not inforce any thing to be beleued vpon necessitie of saluation.

76. Generall Councells may not be gathered together without the commaundement and will of Princes; and when they be gathered together (for as much as they be an assembly of men not alwaies gouerned with the spirit and word of God) they may erre, and sometimes haue erred, euen in things pertaining to the rule of pietie. Wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary to saluation, haue neither strength nor authority, vnlesse it may be shewed that they bee taken out of holy Scriptures.

77. Euery particular Church hath authority to institute, to change, and cleane to put away ceremonies and other Ecclesiasticall rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other, makeing more to seemelynes, to order, or edification.

78. As the Churches of *Ierusalem*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch* haue erred: so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not onely in those things which concerne matter of practise and point of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

79. The power which the Bishop of *Rome* now challengeth, to be Supreame head of the vniversall Church of Christ, and to be aboue all

Emperours, Kings and Princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the Primitive Church: and therefore is for most iust causes taken away and abolished within the Kings Maiesties Realmes and Dominions.

80. The Bishop of Rome is so farre from being the supreame head of the vniuersall Church of Christ, that his workes and doctrine doe plainly discover him to bee *that man of sinne*, foretold in the holy Scriptures, *whome the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightnes of his comming.*

Of the State of the old and new Testament.

81. In the Old Testament the Commaundements of the Law were more largely, and the promises of Christ more sparingly and darkely propounded, shaddowed with a multitude of types and figures, and so much the more generally and obscurely deliuered, as the manifesting of them was further off.

82. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New. For both in the Old and New Testament euerlasting life is offered to mankinde by Christ, who is the onely mediator betweene God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which faine that the old Fathers did looke onely for transitory promises. For they looked for all benefits of God the Father through the merits of his Sonne Iesus Christ, as we now doe: onely they beleued in Christ which should come, we in Christ already come.

83. The New Testament is full of grace and truth, bringing ioyfull tidings vnto mankinde, that whatsoeuer formerly was promised of Christ, is now accomplished: and so in stead of the auncient types and ceremonies, exhibiteth the things themselues, with a large and cleere declaration of all the benefits of the Gospell. Neither is the ministry thereof restrained any longer to one circumcised nation, but is indifferently propounded vnto all people, whether they be Iewes or Gentils. So that there is now no Nation which can truly complaine that they be shut forth from the communion of Saints and the liberties of the people of God.

84. Although the Law giuen from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites be abolished, and the Ciuill precepts thereof be not of necessitie to be receaued in any Common-wealth: yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoeuer is freed from the obedience of the Commaundements, which are called Morall.

Of the Sacraments of the New Testament.

85. The Sacraments ordained by Christ, be not onely badges or

tokens of Christian mens profession: but rather certaine sure witnesses, and effectuell or powerfull signes of grace and Gods good will towards us, by which he doth worke inuisibly in vs, and not onely quicken but also strengthen and confirme our faith in him.

86. There bee two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospell, that is to say, *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper*.

87. Those five which by the Church of *Rome* are called Sacraments, to witt, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *Orders*, *Matrimony*, and *Ex-treame vntion*, are not to be accounted Sacraments of the Gospell: being such as haue partly growen from corrupt imitation of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet haue not like nature of Sacraments with *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper*, for that they haue not any visible signe or ceremonie ordained of God, together with a promise of sauing grace annexed thereunto.

88. The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed vpon, or to be carried about; but that we should duely vse them. And in such onely as worthyly receaue the same, they haue a wholesome effect and operation; but they that receaue them vnworthylie, thereby draw iudgement vpon themselues.

Of Baptisme.

89. Baptisme is not onely an outward signe of our profession, and a note of difference, whereby Christians are discerned from such as are no Christians; but much more a Sacrament of our admission into the Church, sealing vnto vs our new birth (and consequently our Iustification, Adoption, and Sanctification) by the communion which we haue with Iesus Christ.

90. The Baptisme of Infants is to be retained in the Church, as agreeable to the word of God.

91. In the administration of Baptisme, *Exorcisme*, *Oile*, *Salte*, *Spittle*, and superstitious *hallowing of the water*, are for iust causes abolished: and without them the Sacrament is fully and perfectly administred, to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Sauour Christ¹.

Of the Lords Supper.

92. The Lords supper is not onely a signe of the mutuall loue which Christians ought to beare one towards another, but much more a Sacrament of our preservation in the Church, sealing vnto us ovr spirituall nourishment and continuall growth in Christ.

¹ [Cf. 'Eleven Articles,' § VIII.]

93. The change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Bloud of Christ, commonly called *Transubstantiation*, cannot be proued by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to plaine testimonies of the Scripture, ouerthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath giuen occasion to most grosse Idolatry, and manifold superstitions.

94. In the outward part of the Holy Communion, the Bodie and Bloud of Christ is in a most liuely manner *represented*; being no otherwise present with the visible elements than things signified and sealed are present with the signes and seales, that is to say, symbolically and relatiuely. But in the inward and spirituall part the same Body and Bloud is really and substantially *presented* vnto all those who haue grace to receaue the Sonne of God, euen to all those that beleue in his name. And vnto such as in this manner doe worthyly and with faith repaire vnto the Lords table, the Bodie and Bloud of Christ is not onely signified and offered, but also truly exhibited and communicated.

95. The Bodie of Christ is giuen, taken, and eaten in the Lords Supper, onely after an heauenly and spirituall manner; and the meane whereby the Body of Christ is thus receaved and eaten is Faith.

96. The wicked, and such as want a liuely faith, although they doe carnally and visibly (as Saint Augustine speaketh) presse with their teeth the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, yet in no wise are they made partakers of Christ; but rather to their condemnation doe eat and drinke the signe or Sacrament of so great a thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lords Sacrament, according to Christs institution and the practise of the auncient Church, ought to be ministered vnto Gods people; and it is plain sacriledge to rob them of the mysticall cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious bloud¹.

98. The Sacrament of the *Lords Supper* was not by Christs ordinance reserued, carried about, lifted vp, or worshipped.

99. The sacrifice of the Masse, wherein the Priest is said to offer vp Christ for obtaining the remission of paine or guilt for the quicke and the dead, is neither agreeable to Christs ordinance nor grounded upon doctrine Apostolike; but contrarywise most ungodly and most iniurious to that all-sufficient sacrifice of our Sauour Christ, offered once for euer vpon the Crosse, which is the onely propitiation and satisfaction for all our sinnes.

100. Priuate Masse, that is, the receiuing of the *Eucharist* by the Priest alone, without a competent number of communicants, is contrary to the institution of Christ.

¹ [Cf. 'Eleven Articles,' § x.]

Of the state of the soules of men, after they be departed out of this life : together with the generall Resurrection, and the last Iudgement.

101. After this life is ended the soules of Gods children be presently receaued into Heauen, there to enjoy vnspeakable comforts; the soules of the wicked are cast into Hell, there to endure endlesse torments.

102. The doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning *Limbus Patrum, Limbus Puerorum, Purgatorie, Prayer for the dead, Pardons, Adoration of Images and Relickes*, and also *Inuocation of Saints* is uainely inuented without all warrant of holy Scripture, yea and is contrary vnto the same.

103. At the end of this world the Lord Iesus shall come in the clouds with the glory of his Father; at which time, by the almightie power of God, the liuing shalbe changed and the dead shalbe raised; and all shall appeare both in body and soule before his iudgement seat, to receaue according to that which they haue done in their bodies, whether good or evill.

104. When the last iudgement is finished, Christ shall deliuer vp the Kingdome to his Father, and God shalbe all in all.

The Decree of the Synod.

If any Minister, of what degree or qualitie soeuer he be, shall publicly teach any doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed vpon, If, after due admonition, he doe not conforme himselfe, and cease to disturbe the peace of the Church, let him bee silenced, and depriued of all spirituall promotions he doth enjoy.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

The following 'Notes and Illustrations' are drawn almost exclusively from the symbolical Books of the Roman and Reformed Communions, and from the works of contemporary writers, where the language is either strikingly parallel or antagonistic to the statements of the English Articles. The value of such illustrations will appear more especially in the case of disputed or technical phraseology.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ARTICLE I.

(Cf. *Augsburg Confession*, Art. i. from which the present was borrowed almost verbatim, apparently through the medium of the XIII. Articles: see above, pp. 70, 251).

The following is the version of this Article in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, c. 2: 'Omnes filii Dei per Jesum Christum renati, ex corde puro, conscientia bona, et fide non ficta credant et confiteantur, unum esse vivum et verum Deum æternum et incorporeum, impassibilem, immensæ potentiae, sapientiae et bonitatis, Creatorem et Conservatorem omnium rerum tum visibilium tum invisibilium: et in unitate ejus divinæ naturæ tres esse Personas, ejusdem essentiae ac æternitatis, Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum: Patrem vero a seipso esse, nec ab alio quoquam vel generari vel procedere; et Filium quidem a Patre generari: Spiritum Sanctum vero et a Patre et a Filio procedere: nec ullam naturæ diversitatem aut inæqualitatem in ista Personarum distinctione poni, sed quoad substantiam, vel, ut dicunt, essentiam divinam, omnia inter eos paria et æqualia esse:—(cf. Gardiner's Articles, § i. Cardwell's Docum. Annals, i. 161).

ARTICLE II.

(Cf. *Augsburg Confess.* Art. iii. from which the English Article was mainly borrowed, as above; pp. 70, 252....The clause respecting our Lord's eternal generation and consubstantiality was introduced in 1562, from the Wirtemberg Articles of 1551; see p. 124).

In the *Reformatio Legum*, c. 3, we have the following version of it: 'Credatur etiam, cum venisset plenitudo temporis, Filium qui est verbum Patris, in utero beatæ virginis Mariæ, ex ipsius carnis substantia, naturam humanam assumpsisse, ita ut duæ naturæ, divina et humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate Personæ, fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ; ex quibus unus est Christus, verus Deus et verus homo: qui vere passus est, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferos ac tertia die resurrexit, nobisque per suum sanguinem reconciliavit Patrem, sese hostiam offerens illi, non solum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus peccatis quæ homines propria voluntate adjecerunt.'

The *Irish Articles* handle the mysterious question as to the *mode* of derivation of the Son from the Father: see § 9.

ARTICLE III.

(See above, pp. 98, 133 and notes, for the causes which most probably led to the abbreviation of this Article in 1562. The longest form it had assumed occurs in the rough draught of 1552, as signed by the royal chaplains, see p. 270, note 1).

The '*Assembly of Divines*' made the Article run as follows: 'As Christ died for us, and was buried; so it is to be believed that he continued in the state of the dead and under the power and dominion of death, from the time of his death and burial, until his resurrection; which hath been otherwise expressed thus, *He went down into hell.*'

The view very generally received among the English, as opposed to the Calvinistic theologians, was thus stated in Nowell's *Catechismus*: 'Christum vt corpore in terræ viscera, ita, anima a corpore separata, ad inferos descendisse; simulque etiam mortis suæ virtutem, adque efficacitatem ad mortuos atque inferos adeo ipsos ita penetrasse, vt et incredulorum animæ acerbissimam iustissimamque infidelitatis suæ damnationem, ipseque inferorum princeps Satan as tyrannidis suæ et tenebrarum potestatem omnem debilitatam, fractam atque ruina collapsam esse, persentiret: contra vero mortui Christo dum vixerunt fidentes, redemptionis suæ opus iam peractum esse, eiusque vim atque virtutem cum suauissima certissimaque consolatione, intelligerent atque perciperent,' 71, ed. Lond. 1572.

ARTICLE IV.

Reformatio Legum, c. 4: 'Credatur item Dominus noster Jesus Christus, etiam post resurrectionem, duplici natura constare; divina quidem, immensa, incircumscripta, et infinita quæ ubique sit et omnia impleat; humana vero, finita et descripta humani corporis terminis ac finibus, qua, postquam peccata nostra perpurgavisset, in cœlos ascendit, ibique ita sedet ad dexteram Patris, ut non ubique sit, quippe quem oportet in cœlo remanere, usque ad tempus restitutionis omnium, cum ad iudicandum vivos et mortuos veniet, ut reddat cuique opera sua.'

ARTICLE V.

(Cf. Wirtemberg Confession, above, p. 124, note 4, for the origin of this Article).

Reformatio Legum, de Hæresibus, c. 6: 'Quomodo vero hæc putida membra sunt ab Ecclesiæ corpore segreganda, quæ de Christo capite

tam perverse sentiunt [*above*, p. 88, note], sic illorum etiam est execrabilis impudentia, qui cum Macedonio contra Spiritum Sanctum conspiraverunt, illum pro Deo non agnoscentes.'

ARTICLE VI.

(On the primary aim of this Article, see *above*, p. 99, and notes).

After enumerating the canonical books, the *Reformatio Legum* proceeds: 'Hæc igitur generatim est sancta Scriptura, qua omnia creditu ad salutem necessaria, plene et perfecte contineri credimus, usque adeo ut quicquid in ea non legitur, nec reperitur, nec denique ex eadem aut consequitur, aut convincitur, a nemine sit exigendum ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur.'

One of *The Articles of the Principal Heads of Religion*, (*above*, p. 119, note 2): 'S. Scriptura in se continet omnem doctrinam pietatis; ex qua sufficienter et error omnis convinci possit et veritas stabiliri.'

of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church]. This mode of ascertaining the component parts of the Canon did not satisfy the French and Belgic reformers. *E.g.* in Art. iv. of the *Gallic Confession*, (1561), it is stated: 'Nous connoissons ces livres estre canoniques, et reigle tres certaine de nostre Foy non tant par le commun accord et consentement de l'Eglise, que par le tesmoignage et intérieure persuasion du S. Espirit, qui les nous fait discerner d'avec les autres livres Ecclesiastiques [= Apocryphal]. Sur lesquels (encore qu'ils soyent utiles) on ne peut fonder aucun article de Foy.' (Niemeyer, 314, 315): cf. *Confess. Belgic.* Art. v. (*Ibid.* 361, 362).

The Apocryphal books, according to the *Reformatio Legum*, 'leguntur quidem a fidelibus et in ecclesia recitantur, quod ad ædificationem plebis plurima in illis valeant, quibus tamen non tantum autoritas tribuitur, ut fidei nostræ dogmata ex ipsis solis et separatim citra alios indubitatae Scripturæ locos constitui, constabilirique, vel possint, vel debeant. Sunt ergo et cum judicio et sobrie isti tum audiendi tum legendi.'

The *Roman Church*, since April 8, 1546, has included the books of Tobit, Judith, Baruch, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the 1st and 2nd of Maccabees, in the Old-Testament canon, (Concil. Trident. Sess. iv.): and the same decree (which was the work of five cardinals and forty-eight bishops) after declaring that the Christian revelation is transmitted 'in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus,' orders both to be received 'pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia.' Of this dogma, Alley speaks as follows, *Pore Mans Librarie*, i. 58: 'It is therefore a new

invention and lye, inuented lately in the diuels shoppe that all doctrine of religion cannot be proued out of the Scriptures and that mens traditions, *without and besides the Scriptures*, are necessary workes to saluation.'

ARTICLE VII.

(See above, pp. 90, 100, and notes, for the original aim of this Article).

'Here I note onely one thing, which is [the] temeritie, ignoraunce and blasphemy of certaine phantastical heades, which hold y^t the prophets do write onely to the people of y^e old Testament, and that their doctrine did pertain onely to their time; and would seclude al y^e fathers y^t liued vnder y^e law from the hope of eternal saluation. And here is also a note to be gathered against them which vtterly reiect y^e old testament, as a boke nothing necessari to y^e christians which liue vnder y^e Gospel. But as I haue said before, ther is no difference betwene the old Testament and the newe, but onelye in circumstaunce and nothing in substance. And therefore the one is as wel to be allowed and receiued as the other.' Alley, *Pore Mans Librarie*, II. 97: cf. *Homilies*, 2nd Part of Faith, 38, ed. Camb.

The *Gallican Confession*, Art. XXIII. is somewhat different: 'Nous croyons que toutes les figures de la Loy ont prins fin à la venue de Jesus Christ. Mais combien que les cérémonies ne soyent plus en usage, néanmoins la substance et vérité nous en est demeurée en la personne de celuy, auquel gist tout accomplissement. Au surplus, il nous faut ayder de la Loy et des Prophetes tant pour reigler nostre vie, que pour estre confirmer aux promesses de l'Evangile.'

ARTICLE VIII.

(See Art. I. of 1536, above, pp. 51, 235; and cf. *Confess. Saxon. Procem.*, *Confess. Gallic. Art. v.*).

Reformatio Legum, de Summa Trin. c. 5: 'Et quoniam omnia ferme, quæ ad fidem spectant catholicam, tum quoad beatissimam Trinitatem, tum quoad mysteria nostræ redemptionis, tribus Symbolis, hoc est, Apostolico, Niceno, et Athanasii breviter continentur; idcirco ista tria Symbola, ut fidei nostræ compendia quædam recipimus et amplectimur, quod firmissimis divinarum et canonicarum Scripturarum testimoniis facile probari possint.'

The Articles of the Principal Heads of Religion subjoin to a similar statement: 'Qui istis non crediderint inter veros Catholicos non sunt recipiendi.'

ARTICLE IX.

(For the original aim of this Article, see p. 100 and notes. It is based on Art. II. of the Augsburg Confession, from which it was drawn through the medium of the XIII. Articles, above, pp. 70, 251).

Reformatio Legum, de Hæresibus, c. 7: 'In labe peccati ex ortu nostro contracta, quam vitium originis appellamus, primum quidem Pelagianorum, deinde etiam Anabaptistarum nobis vitandus et submovendus est error, quorum in eo consensus contra veritatem sacrarum Scripturarum est, quod peccatum originis in Adamo solo hæserit, et non ad posteros transierit, nec ullam afferat naturæ nostræ perversitatem, nisi quod ex Adami delicto propositum sit peccandi noxium exemplum, quod homines ad eandem pravitatem invitat imitandum et usurpandum.'

Catechismus Brevis, 1553, (see above, p. 82): 'Quo factum est, ut statim uterque mortui sunt, hoc est, non tantum morti corporis obnoxii fuerunt, verum *animi quoque vitam amiserunt, quæ est justitia*; et protinus in illis imago offuscata est, ac lineamenta illa justitiæ, sanctitatis, veritatis et cognitionis Dei, longe pulcherrima, *confusa sunt et pene deleta*; reliqua vero fuit imago terrena cum injustitia conjuncta, fraude, affectione carnali, et de rebus divinis ac cœlestibus ignoratio summa. Inde autem nata est carnis nostræ infirmitas; inde ista corruptio et confusio affectionum et cupiditatum omnium; hinc illa pestis, hinc illud seminarium et nutrimentum peccatorum omnium, quo genus humanum inficitur, et *Peccatum Originis* appellatur.' B. vii. seqq.

very far gone from original righteousness.] The 'Assembly of Divines' preferred the phrase '*wholly* deprived of original righteousness,' which brought the Article into harmony with some of the earlier statements of the Lutherans and the general tenour of the Calvinistic teaching. The *Gallican Confession*, Art. ix. may be quoted as a specimen: 'Nous croyons que l'homme ayant esté créé pur et entier, et conforme à l'image de Dieu, est par sa propre faute descheu de sa grace qu'il avoit reçue, et ainsi s'est aliéné de Dieu, qui est la fontaine de iustice et de tous biens, en sorte que *sa nature est du tout corrompue*; et estant aveuglé en son esprit et dépravé en son cœur, a perdu *toute intégrité sans en avoir rien de residu.*'

original righteousness.] By this phrase the Schoolmen generally described the moral and spiritual condition of man anterior to the fall; some, however, making the '*donum originalis justitiæ*' no more than a superadded grace, and not a connatural quality. See Field, *On the Church*, II. 176—205; ed. E. H. S. In the view of these latter, the

effect of the fall was *simply* privative, whereas the Article before us regards it as a positive, though not entire, vitiation of man's nature: cf. *Confess. Saxon.* Art. II. (apud Francke, App. 75).

concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.] According to the version of the *Assembly of Divines*, it 'is truly and properly sin,' and similarly the Saxon Confession, *ubi sup.* On the contrary, the council of Trent (in 1546) decreed as follows: 'Hanc concupiscentiam, quam aliquando Apostolus peccatum appellat, sancta synodus declarat, ecclesiam Catholicam numquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod vere et proprie in renatis peccatum sit, sed quia ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinat.' Sessio v. § 5. It is very remarkable that in a former passage of the same section the view is anathematised, which affirms that in the sacrament of baptism 'non tolli totum id, quod *veram et propriam peccati rationem habet.*' The English Article retains the phrase 'peccati rationem habere,' but drops the epithets 'veram et propriam,' and has thus occupied a sort of middle place between the contending parties.

The following is the view of Gardiner and the anti-reformation school: 'Althoughe the gylte of oryginall synne be taken awaye in baptysme, yet *the scarre of it* (as it were), *y^e matter of it doth remayne*, whiche as it troubleth and letteth mans perfection in vertue, and therby is maynteyned a continual strife and debate, so *is it not to be accompted our synne* tyll we conceyue it by embracyng and agreynge to such carnall motions.' *Declaration* (against Joye), fol. cxxi.

ARTICLE X.

(See above, p. 100, and note 4: the former clause was introduced from the Wirtemberg Articles, above, p. 125; the latter is almost verbatim from St Augustine, 'De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio,' c. XVII. al. xxxiii.).

Reformatio Legum, *ibid.* c. 7: 'Similiter nobis contra illos progrediendum est, qui tantum in libero arbitrio roboris et nervorum ponunt, ut *eo solo sine alia speciali Christi gratia* recte ab hominibus vivi posse constituent.'

Necessary Doctrine and Erudition, Article of Free-will: 'And so likewise although there remain a certain freedom of will in those things which do pertain unto the desires and works of this present life [cf. Augsburg Confess. § XVIII.], yet to perform spiritual and heavenly things free-will of itself is insufficient: and therefore the power of man's free-will, being thus wounded and decayed, hath need of a physician to heal it, and an help to repair it; that it may receive light and strength, whereby it

may see, and have power to do those godly and spiritual things, which before the fall of Adam it was able and might have done:' pp. 360, 361.

Gardiner's *Declaration* (against George Joye): 'All such textes of Scripture as seeme to attribute to man power and faculte of him selfe to do good, howe playnely so euer they be, I maye gather no sence or vnderstandynge of them, but suche as may agre with those textes of Scripture that shew how man of himselfe can not do any good thinge, not so muche as thynke a good thought, but it be by the speciall gyfte and grace of God. And howe playne so euer some of the textes of Scripture seme, so to considre man as to resemble him to an earthpot at the pleasure of the potter, and onely to do as he is ordeined to do by God, yet must we forbear to make any other sence, then such as may agre with other textes of Scripture, that declare mans fre choise to receiue grace when it is offred hym, or to refuse it and continue in synne.' fol. xl.

The *Gallican Confession*, as before, makes use of a somewhat different language: 'Et combien qu'il ait encores quelque discrétion du bien et du mal; non obstant nous disons que ce qu'il a de clarté, se convertit en ténèbres, quand il est question de chercher Dieu, tellement qu'il n'en peut nullement approcher par son intelligence et raison. Et combien qu'il ayt volonté par laquelle il est incité à faire cecy ou cela, toutesfois elle est du tout captive sous péchée, en sort qu'il n'a nulle liberté à bien, que celle que Dieu luy donne.'

ARTICLE XI.

(Cf. Augs. Conf. Art. iv. p. 26; Art. v. of 1536. p. 54; Art. iv. of 1538. p. 70; Art. xi. of 1552. p. 101, and notes; Wirtemberg Confess. p. 125).

Reformatio Legum, ibid. c. 7: 'Nec illi sunt audiendi, quorum impietas salutarem et in sacris Scripturis fundatam justificationis nostræ doctrinam oppugnat, in qua tenendum est, *non operum momentis*, justitiam hominum collocari.'

Catechismus Brevis: 'Quoties igitur dici solet, *sola nos fide justificari* et servari, ita dictum est quia fides, aut potius fiducia sola apprehendit, intelligit, et cognoscit nostram justificationem nobis a Deo gratis dari, hoc est, *nullis nostris meritis*, sed ex gratuita gratia Omnipotentis Patris.' D, vi.

Confessio Variata, A. D. 1540: 'Quum igitur dicimus *Fide justificamur*, non hoc intelligimus quod justi simus propter ipsius virtutis dignitatem, sed hæc est sententia: consequi nos remissionem peccatorum

et imputationem justitiæ *per misericordiam propter Christum.* Apud Francke, Lib. Symbol. App. 14.

Gardiner, *Declaration* (against Joye): 'I euer affirmed that we be frelye iustified and frely saued, and yet God in giuinge vs this fredome, for Christ, worketh so in ordre and so wylleth vs to obserue it, which I call the condycyon, as for wante thereof we shal eyther not atteyne fredome, or loose oure fredom when we haue atteyned it,' fol. ciii.... 'And surelye al the disputacyon, in this artycle of iustification is deduced by discussion thus farre, that for all the *only* and *onely*, with so many *onlyes* which they haue added to *faythe*, to make y^e speach litigious, there now is none founde amonge lerned men, but that saye (as ye mayster Joye say) that charite is not excluded from faith in iustification, [cf. *Hom. Of Salvation*, 24. ed. Camb.], but that there is in the iustification of man fayth and charitie. But the newe secte (whiche ye professe), to mayntayne the aduerbe *onelye*, saye the offyce of fayth is onely to iustifie, and yet charitie is present, but is not effectuose therein,' fol. cxiii. : cf. the 6th of his XV. *Articles*.

The following is the view taken of the doctrine by the *Council of Trent*, in 1547: 'Hanc dispositionem seu præparationem justificatio ipsa consequitur: quæ non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio, et renovatio interioris hominis [cf. Art. v. of 1536. p. 54.] per voluntariam susceptionem gratiæ et donorum. Unde homo ex injusto fit justus et ex inimico amicus, ut sit hæres secundum spem vitæ æternæ. Hujus justificationis causæ sunt; *finalis* quidem, gloria Dei, et Christi ac vita æterna; *efficiens* vero, misericors Deus, qui gratuito abluit et sanctificat, signans et unguens spiritu promissionis sancto, qui est pignus hæreditatis nostræ: *meritoria* autem, dilectissimus unigenitus suus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus; qui, cum essemus inimici, propter nimiam charitatem qua dilexit nos, sua sanctissima passione in ligno crucis, nobis justificatione meruit, et pro nobis Deo Patri satisfecit. *Instrumentalis* item, sacramentum baptismi, quod est sacramentum fidei, sine qua nulli unquam contigit justificatio. Demum unica *formalis* causa est justitia Dei, non qua ipse justus est, sed qua nos justos facit, qua videlicet ab eo donati renovamur spiritu mentis nostræ, et non modo reputamur sed vere justii nominamur et sumus, justitiam in nobis recipientes, unusquisque suam secundum mensuram, quam Spiritus Sanctus partitur singulis prout vult, et secundum propriam cujusque dispositionem et cooperationem.' Sess. vi. c. vii.

ARTICLE XII.

(Borrowed in part from the Wirtemberg Confession: see above, p. 125).

Articles of 1538, or 1540, (see above, p. 72): 'Nam bona opera ad salutem sunt necessaria: non quod de impio justum faciunt, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis; sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est, et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat,' etc.

Confessio Variata, de Bonis Operibus, § 2: 'Docemus etiam, quomodo hæc inchoata obedientia placeat Deo. Nam in hac tanta infirmitate et immunditie naturæ sancti non satisfaciunt legi; opus igitur est piis consolatione, ut sciant, quomodo hæc exigua et imperfecta obedientia Deo placeat. Non enim ideo placet quia legi satisfaciatur, sed quia personæ reconciliatæ et justæ sunt propter Christum et credunt sibi condonari imbecillitatem suam... Quamquam igitur hæc nova obedientia procul abest a perfectione legis, tamen est justitia et meretur præmia, ideo quia personæ reconciliatæ sunt.'

The *Council of Trent*, Sess. VI. c. XVI. maintains that the word 'merit' (as in the above extract) may be properly applied to Christian works, and adds the following denunciation of those who questioned the assertion: 'Si quis dixerit hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita, aut ipsum justificatum bonis operibus, quæ ab eo per Dei gratiam et Jesu Christi meritum, cujus vivum membrum est, fiunt, non vere mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ, si tamen in gratia decesserit, consecutionem, atque etiam gloriæ augmentum, anathema sit;' cf. Gardiner's *Declaration*, fol. xx., and his 7th Article.

ARTICLE XIII.

(For the original aim of this Article, see above, p. 101, and note).

The inability of man to do good works without preventing grace (sine præveniente Spiritus Sancti inspiratione atque ejus adjutorio) was strongly affirmed at the *Council of Trent*, (Sess. VI. Can. I, III), in opposition to some of the Pelagianizing Schoolmen: but the doctrine that all works wrought before *justification* are truly sinful (vere peccata, vel odium Dei mereri) was laid under a special anathema (Can. VII). Gardiner, in like manner, distinguished between 'bona opera' and 'opera poenitentiae,' of which the former follow justification, while the latter precede it, fol. xxxviii. He afterwards taxed his opponent with ignorance as to the true meaning of the terms 'meritum de congruo' and 'de condigno,' fol. clxvi. b.

Luther, (quoted by Archbp Laurence, Serm. iv.): 'Hic adversarii

opponunt exemplum Cornelii . . . Cornelius, inquiunt, teste Luca, vir bonus, justus, timens Deum, faciens eleemosynas multas populo et deprecans Deum semper, *ergo merebatur de congruo remissionem peccatorum* . . . Errant igitur sophistæ cum dicunt, pro statuendo opere congrui Cornelium operibus naturalibus rationis et moralibus consecutum esse gratiam, et remissionem Spiritus Sancti. Nam justum et timentem Dei, &c. esse, affectus sunt non hominis Gentilis aut naturalis sed spiritualis, *qui jam fidem habet.*

ARTICLE XIV.

(For the original aim of this Article, see above, p. 101, and note).

Reformatio Legum, ibid. c. 8: 'Tum et illorum arrogantia comprimenda est, et autoritate legum domanda, qui supererogationis opera quædam importaverunt, quibus existimant non solum cumulate Dei legibus, et explete satisfieri, sed aliquid etiam in illis amplius superesse quam Dei mandata postulent, unde et sibi mereri et aliis merita applicari possint.'

ARTICLE XV.

(Aimed at the 'Romish' dogma respecting the sinlessness of the Virgin, above, p. 101; and in later times rejected by Wesley as impugning his doctrine of human perfection).

Joliffe, (against Hooper), fol. 165: 'Hunc articulum sanum et verum esse affirmamus, veruntamen quoties fit quæstio de peccato, Mariam virginem exceptam intelligimus.' He afterwards (fol. 166) quotes the following from Gabriel Biel, 'eruditissimus sacræ Theologiæ licentiatus': 'Cæteri quoque sancti, etsi quidam eorum ab omni *actuali* tam mortali quam veniali peccato (sicut de Ioanne Baptista et Ieremia propheta constat) fuere liberi, *originali* tamen culpa non caruerunt, quamvis ab ea, priusquam nascerentur, sunt mundati: sola virgo Maria ita ex utroque parente fuit concepta, ut tamen ab originali peccato prærogatiua singulari sit præservata.'

See the decision of the *Council of Trent* under the following Article.

ARTICLE XVI.

(See above, p. 101, note 6, and for the various objections to this Article, pp. 203, 206, 209, (note 1), 211).

Reformatio Legum, ibid. c. 9: 'Etiam illi de justificatis perverse sentiunt, qui credunt illos, postquam justi semel facti sunt, in peccatum non posse incidere, aut si forte quicquam eorum faciunt, quæ Dei legibus prohibentur, ea Deum pro peccatis non accipere. Quibus opinione con-

trarii, sed impietate pares sunt, qui quodcumque peccatum mortale, quod post baptismum a nobis susceptum voluntate nostra committitur, illud omne contra Spiritum Sanctum affirmant gestum esse et remitti non posse.'

Augsburg Confession, Art. XII. § 3: 'Damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel justificados posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum... Damnantur et Novatiani qui nolebant absolvere lapsos post baptismum redeuntes ad poenitentiam.'

Council of Trent, Sess. VI. Can. XXIII: 'Si quis hominem semel justificatum dixerit amplius peccare non posse, neque gratiam amittere, atque ideo eum qui labitur et peccat numquam vere fuisse justificatum, aut contra, posse in tota vita peccata omnia etiam venialia vitare, nisi ex speciali Dei privilegio, quemadmodum de beata virgine Maria tenet ecclesia, anathema sit.'

Gardiner, (against Joye), fol. clvi.: 'I haue learned and therafter speake, that a sinner cannot turne without the grace of God, which God dystributeth by degrees, as y^e sonne sheweth herselfe (*sic*) in the morninge, in whom there is encrease by successe tyl the sonne come to the highest at noon. Men fall sodenly doune the hyll from God, but they be drawen vp the hyll to hym by degrees.'

ARTICLE XVII.

(For the original aim of this Article, see above, p. 102 and notes; for the verbal modifications in 1562, pp. 126 (note), 128. The wording of it has several points of resemblance to Luther's Preface to his *Comment. on the Epistle to the Romans*. See Bp Short's *Hist. of the Church*, pp. 323, 324).

The *Reformatio Legum*, *ibid.* c. 22, after mentioning the practical evils which had grown from a perversion of the doctrines of predestination and reprobation, proceeds as follows: Nos vero sacris Scripturis eruditi, talem in hac re doctrinam ponimus, quod diligens et accurata cogitatio de prædestinatione nostra et electione suscepta, (de quibus Dei voluntate determinatum fuit antequam mundi fundamenta jacerentur;) hæc itaque diligens et seria, quam diximus, his de rebus cogitatio, piorum hominum animos spiritu Christi afflatos et carnis et membrorum subjectionem persentiscentes, et ad coelestia sursum tendentes, dulcissima quadam et jucundissima consolatione permulcet, quoniam fidem nostram de perpetua salute per Christum ad nos perventura confirmat, vehementissimas charitatis in Deum flammæ accendit, mirabiliter ad gratias agendas exsuscitat, ad bona nos opera propinquissime adducit, et a peccatis longissime abducit, quoniam a Deo sumus electi, et filii ejus

instituti. Quæ singularis et eximia conditio summam a nobis salubritatem morum, et excellentissimam virtutis perfectionem requirit: denique nobis arrogantiam minuit, ne viribus nostris geri credamus, quæ gratuita Dei beneficentia et infinita bonitate indulgentur. Præterea neminem ex hoc loco purgationem censemus vitiorum suorum afferre posse; quia Deus nihil ulla in re injuste constituit, nec ad peccata voluntates nostras unquam invitas trudit. Quapropter omnes nobis admonendi sunt, ut in actionibus suscipiendis ad decreta prædestinationis se non referant, sed universam vitæ suæ rationem ad Dei leges accommodent; cum et promissiones bonis, et minas malis, in sacris Scripturis *generaliter propositas* contemplemur. Debemus enim ad Dei cultum viis illis ingredi, et in illa Dei voluntate commorari, quam in sacris Scripturis patefactam esse videmus.

Gardiner, (against Joye), fol. xxxix: 'I acknowledge God's predestination as whereof I am most certeynly assured by scripture, and also confesse the textes of scripture by me rehersed to conteyne a most certeine truth and ought therefore to be worshypped and reuerenced. And am sory to se the high mysterye of Goddes predestinacion and the scriptures lykewise to be abused vnsemely by noughtye men, to suche ende and effecte as the Grekes and infidels vsed the false opinion of destynye.' ... Again (fol. lii): 'For and their opinion were true, there neded no preachynge, prayer, ministracion of sacramentes or any memory or remembraunce of Christ, but as the Turkes do, ones in a weke tell the people out of the stepyll, ye that are predestinate, shal be of necessitie saued, ye that are not predestinate, shal be of necessitie dampned.' Again (fol. lxxiii): 'The true teachynge of Christes church abhorreth necessitie, and yet worshyppeth for moost certayne truthes Goddes providence, election, and predestinacion, whereby we be taughte that God is auctor of al our helth, welth and saluacion, the cyrcumstaunce of which workyng in God in his election and predestinacion, althoughe it be as impossible for mans wit to frame with our choyse and free wyll, as to deuise howe a camell shulde passe through the eye of an nedle without makyng the nedles eye bygger or the camell lesse; yet that is impossible for man, is not impossible for God.' He then goes into a long argument with the hope of dispelling some portion of the mystery in which this question is enveloped, 'by distincting Goddes knowledge from His election as the cause from the effect.'

The private opinions of the leading English reformers on the general question of the Divine decrees have been not unfrequently collected, and shewn to be uncalvinistic: *e.g.* in Winchester's *Dissertation on the XVIIth Article*, Laurence's *Authentic Documents relating to the Predestinarian Controversy*, and *Bampton Lectures*, 383 seqq.

Calvin's doctrine is thus stated in the *Institutiones*, Lib. III. c. 21, § 5, and even intensified elsewhere: 'Prædestinationem vocamus æternum Dei decretum, quo apud se constitutum habuit quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes; sed aliis vita æterna, aliis damnatio æterna præordinatur. Itaque prout in alterutrum finem quisque conditus est, ita vel ad vitam vel ad mortem prædestinatum dicimus.'

The dogma of reprobation, respecting which the English Article is altogether silent, was by *Calvin* regarded as an essential part of his system: 'Multi quidem ac si invidiam a Deo repellere vellent, electionem ita fatentur ut negent quenquam reprobari; sed incite nimis et pueriliter, quando ipsa electio nisi reprobationi opposita non staret. Dicitur segregare Deus quos adoptet in salutem; fortuito alios adipisci, vel sua industria acquirere, quod sola electio paucis confert, plusquam insulse dicitur. Quos ergo Deus præterit reprobatur, neque alia de causa nisi quod ab hæreditate quam filiis suis prædestinat, illos vult excludere.' *Instit.* Lib. III. c. 23, § 1.

The general doctrine of the *Lutherans* was strongly opposed to the Calvinistic, as will be seen in the following extract from the *Formula Concordiæ* (Libr. Symbol. Part. III. p. 67): 'Rejicimus itaque omnes, quos jam enumerabimus, errores. (1) Quod Deus nolit, ut omnes homines poenitentiam agant et evangelio credant. (2) Quando Deus nos ad se vocat, quod non serio hoc vult, ut omnes homines ad ipsum veniant. (3) Quod nolit Deus, ut omnes salventur, sed quod quidam non ratione peccatorum suorum, verum solo Dei consilio, proposito, et voluntate, ad exitium destinati sint, ut prorsus salutem consequi non possint. (4) Quod non sola Dei misericordia et sanctissimum Christi meritum, sed etiam in nobis ipsis aliqua causa sit electionis divinæ, cujus causæ ratione Deus nos ad vitam æternam elegerit. Hæc dogmata omnia falsa sunt, horrenda et blasphema, iisque piis mentibus omnis prorsus consolatio eripitur, quam ex evangelio et sacramentorum usu capere deberent, et idcirco in ecclesia Dei nequaquam sunt ferenda.'

The *Council of Trent*, though much divided on this subject, made no more than the following decree (Sess. VI. c. xii): 'Nemo quoque, quamdiu in hac mortalitate vivitur, de arcano divinæ prædestinationis mysterio usque adeo præsumere debet, ut certo statuatur se omnino esse in numero prædestinatorum: quasi verum esset quod justificatus aut amplius peccare non possit, aut si peccaverit certam sibi resipiscentiam promittere debeat, nam nisi ex speciali revelatione scire non potest, quos Deus sibi elegerit.'

ARTICLE XVIII.

(For the original aim of this Article see above, p. 102 and note).

Reformatio Legum, ibid. c. 11: 'Horribilis est et immanis illorum audacia, qui contendunt in omni religione vel secta, quam homines professi fuerint, salutem illis esse sperandam [cf. the title of the *Latin Article*], si tantum ad innocentiam et integritatem vitæ pro viribus enitantur juxta lumen, quod illis præluceat a natura infusum. Autoritate vero sacrarum literarum confixæ sunt hujusmodi pestes. Solum enim et unicum ibi Jesu Christi nomen nobis commendatum est, ut omnis ex eo salus ad nos perveniat.'

Melancthon (quoted by Laurence, 301): 'Usitata et falsa distinctio est, tres esse leges, naturalem, Mosaicam, et Evangelicam. Et magis impium est, quod affingunt, singulos propter suæ legis observationem consecutos esse remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam.'

ARTICLE XIX.

(See above p. 102 and note 5; cf. Augsburg Conf. Art. vii. p. 27; Art. v. of 1538, p. 71; Art. iii. of 1559, pp. 119, 120).

In the *Articles of Principal Heads of Religion* (see above p. 119, note 2), we have the following definition: 'Ecclesia Christi est in qua purum Dei Verbum prædicatur et sacramenta juxta Christi ordinationem administratur, et in qua clavium autoritas retinetur:' cf. *Homilies*, 465, ed. Camb., for the same 'three notes or marks.'

Alley, Poor Mans Librarie, i. fol. 195, 6: 'It (the Church) hath alwayes thre notes or markes whereby it is knowne. The first note is pure and sound doctrine. The second note are the sacraments ministred according to Christes holy institution. The third note is the right vse of ecclesiasticall discipline. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God and also to the doctrine of the auncient Fathers, so that none may iustly find fault therwith:' cf. *Confessio Belgic.* Art. xxix. apud Niemeyer, p. 380.

Joliffe (against Hooper), fol. 90: 'Diffinitio ista ecclesiæ manca et mutila est. Nam ecclesia Christi catholica est congregatio fidelium omnium quæ unica est professione fidei, doctrinæ, et administratione sacramentorum, ac catholicæ religionis, cum legitima et continua successionem vicariorum Christi.'

The second portion of the Article finds the following parallel in the *Reformatio Legum*, ibid. c. 21: 'Etiam illorum insania legum vinculis est constringenda, qui Romanam ecclesiam in hujusmodi petra fundatam esse existimant, ut nec erraverit, nec errare possit; cum et multi possint ejus errores ex superiore majorum memoria repeti, et etiam ex hac

nostra proferri, partim in his quibus vita nostra debet informari, partim etiam in his quibus fides debet institui.'

ARTICLE XX.

(For the original aim of this Article, and its enlargement in 1562, see above, p. 103, 139, 140. The disputed clause has a parallel in the Wirtemberg Confession, p. 125, note 5).

Alley, Poore Mans Librarie, i. 87: 'Of the word the Church hath her authoritie and by it onely ought to pronounce and geue sentence of all controuersies.'... Again, 88, b: 'By this it euidently appeareth that it was then the iudgement of the Church to geue sentence in all controuersies out of the Scriptures, and to refuse (? refute) those, which wrested obscure and darcke places to confirme their wicked doctrine, by other manifest and playne places of the Scripture.... Therefore it may be concluded that they which attribute vnto the Church and to the Fathers authoritie to ordeine any thyng without the Scripture, and to define of controversies of religion without the word, do offer great iniurie and wrong to the primatiue Church.'

ARTICLE XXI.

(See above, p. 103).

The *Reformatio Legum*, de Summa Trinitate, c. 14, after expressing the greatest regard for the four œcumenical councils, proceeds in the following manner: 'Quibus tamen non aliter fidem nostram obligandam esse censemus, nisi quatenus ex Scripturis sanctis confirmari possunt. Nam concilia nonnulla interdum errasse, et contraria inter sese definiuisse, partim in actionibus juris, partim etiam in fide, manifestum est.'

Alley, ubi sup. i. 199, b: 'The old and auncient synodes are to be embraced gladly, and must be taken, as touching the opinions of faith, for holy counsels, as the counsels of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus the first, of Calcidon and such like, which were assembled for the confuting of errours. For they doo contain nothing, but the pure and natiue interpretation of the Scriptures, which the holye Fathers applyed to dashe downe and ouerthrow the enemies of true religion. In the latter [i. e. later] counsels the Church did degenerate from the purity of that golden worlde, yet notwithstanding those counsels had some Bishops that were knowen to bee better then the rest.'

ARTICLE XXII.

(See above, p. 89, note 3; p. 103, note 3; p. 127).

Romish doctrine.] In the *Heads of Doctrine*, 1559, the phrase

'doctrina Scholasticorum,' was still retained. Some of the earlier examples in which the word *Romish* was employed, to characterise the mediæval abuses of which the pope was the chief patron, occur in *Alley's Prælections*, 1560; e. g. i. 95, b. *Cranmer, Answer to Gardiner*, III. 516, has the phrase 'your new *Romish* errors.'

Purgatory.] The decree of the *Council of Trent*, on this and other points embraced in the present Article, is dated Dec. 4, 1563, and was not therefore directly intended by the Reformers; but the general teaching of the Western Church, for some time anterior to the Reformation, had propagated the same errors in a less guarded form. The way in which they were defended by *Joliffe* and his friends, while commenting on this Article, may be seen in his work against Hooper, fol. 90—115.

Reformatio Legum, *ibid.* c. 10: 'Verum sacræ Scripturæ solam Christi mortem nobis ad delictorum purgationem reservant, nec ullum ponunt aliud sacrificium quod ad hanc rem valere possit, imo de purgatorio sane ipsorum ne una quidem syllaba sacris in Scripturis invenitur.'

The doctrine here contemplated is thus expressed in the *Articles* sent by Gardiner to the University of Cambridge in 1555, (see above, p. 114): 'Credimus post hanc vitam esse purgatorium in quo animæ defunctorum purgantur, pœnaque adhuc peccatis debita, exsolvitur: sanctumque et salubre esse pro defunctis exorare, nostrasque preces, eleemosynas, jejunia, et opera alia pia, maxime autem altaris sacrificium, illis multum prodesse persuasissimum habemus.' *Cardwell's Doc. An.* I. 164.

Respecting *Relicks and Images*, he speaks as follows: 'Reliquias martyrum, et loca in eorum honorem consecrata, pie et religiose a Christianis venerari, et invisi posse affirmamus; imaginum quoque usum ferendum et hominibus esse fructuosum esse fatemur.' *Ibid.*

Respecting *Invocation of Saints*: 'Sanctos cum Christo agentes nos pie posse et debere venerari, eosdemque invocare, ut pro nobis orent, atque nostras preces et vota ab illis percipi, et eorum nos precibus juvari confitemur et agnoscimus.' *Ibid.* 163.

Pardons.] The following illustration is from the chief of the anti-reformation party: 'Amonges other thynges [I] noted the deuylls craft, what shifte he vseth to deceyue man whose felicitie he enuieth, and therefore coueteth to haue man idle and voyde of good workes, and to be ledde in that idelnes, with a wanne hope to liue merely and at his pleasure here, and yet haue heuen at y^e last: And for that purpose procured oute *pardons from Rome*, wherein heauen was sold for a little money, and for to retayle that marchaundise, the deuyll vsed freres for his ministers: nowe they be gone with all theyr tromperye but the deuyll is not yet gone.' *Gardiner, against Joye*, fol. ix.

ARTICLE XXIII.

(Based on the Augsburg Conf. Art. xiv. above, p. 28; for its original aim, p. 103; cf. Art. iv. of 1559, p. 120).

Reformatio Legum, ibid. c. 16: 'Similis est illorum amentia, qui institutionem ministrorum ab Ecclesia disjungunt, negantes in certis locis certos doctores, pastores atque ministros collocari debere; nec admittunt legitimas vocationes, nec solemnem manuum impositionem, sed per omnes publice docendi potestatem divulgant, qui sacris literis utcunque sunt aspersi et spiritum sibi vendicant; nec illos solum adhibent ad docendum, sed etiam ad moderandam Ecclesiam et distribuenda sacramenta; quæ sane universa cum scriptis Apostolorum manifeste pugnant.'

Heads of Religion: 'Absque externa et legitima vocatione non licet cuicumque sese ingerere in aliquod ministerium ecclesiasticum vel sæculare.'

ARTICLE XXIV.

(See above, pp. 103, 127).

Heads of Religion: 'Præceptum Dei est, ut quæ leguntur in ecclesia illa lingua proferantur quæ ab ecclesia intelligatur.'

ARTICLE XXV.

(For the original aim of this Article, see p. 104, and note; for its numerous modifications, pp. 126, 128, and notes. The first clause was derived from Art. ix. of 1538, p. 71).

The *Reformatio Legum*, after condemning the error of those who spoke of the sacraments as 'inania et vacua' (quoted above, p. 104, note 1), proceeds: 'Quæ cum inter nos dispertiuntur, si divini Spiritus fides confirmatur, erigitur conscientia, promissio etiam veniæ peccatorum per Christum facta intrinsecus exhibetur, extrinsecus vero istis sacramentis quasi sigillo quodam consignatur. Præterea verbo Dei quod intercedit, et symbolorum adhibitorum naturis erudiuntur fideles de pretio nostræ redemptionis per Christum comparatæ, Spiritus sanctus et gratia in mentibus fidelium uberius instillatur, tum etiam foedus quod per Christum inter Deum et nos ictum est corroboratur, ut nobis ille proprius sit Deus, nos illi peculiaris populus, et astringimus nos ipsos ad peccatorum abolitionem et integritatem vitæ suscipiendam. Quæ si recte ponderentur, necesse est ut obmutescat illorum calumnia, qui sacramentorum inopem volunt, et nudam naturam relinquere:' cf. *Confessio Scotica*, I. A.D. 1568; apud Niemeyer, 352, 353.

Heads of Religion: 'Christus tantum duo sacramenta expresse

nobis commendat, Baptisma et Eucharistiam: quibus confertur gratia rite sumentibus, etiamsi malus sit minister; et non prosunt indigne suscipientibus quantumvis bonus sit minister.'

The *Swiss* doctrine is thus stated in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, A.D. 1549, c. vii.: 'Sunt quidem et hi sacramentorum fines, ut notæ sint ac tesseræ Christianæ professionis et societatis sive fraternitatis, ut sint ad gratiarum actionem incitamenta et exercitia fidei ac piæ vitæ, denique syngraphæ ad id obligantes. Sed hic unus inter alios præcipuus, ut per ea nobis gratiam suam testetur Deus, repræsentet atque obsignet. Nam etsi nihil aliud significant, quam quod verbo ipso annunciat, hoc tamen magnum est, subjici oculis nostris quasi vivas imagines, quæ sensus nostros melius afficiant, quasi in rem ducendo; dum nobis Christi mortem omniaque ejus beneficia in memoriam revocant, ut fides magis exerceatur; deinde quod ore Dei renunciatum erat, quasi sigillis confirmari et sanciri.' The *Reformed*, as distinguished from the *Lutherans*, confined themselves to this *obsignatory* view of the sacraments, denying that they could properly be said to *work* or to *confer* grace: cf. ubi sup. c. xvii., and still more strongly in Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio*, apud Niemeyer, 24, and in the *Consensionis Capitulorum Explicatio*, p. 209, ed. Niemeyer. The idea that a sacrament ever acts 'instar canalis,' is denounced as 'plane insipida superstitio.'

efficacia signa.] The following is the language of Dr Ward, one of the delegates at the Synod of Dort: 'Sacramenta ista, quæ signa *efficacia* appellat Articulus noster xxiv., conferre gratiam dicimus.' Opera Nonnulla, p. 44, ed. S. Ward, Lond. 1658; cf. Ussher's Works, xv. 506, 510, ed. Elrington.

Joliffe (against Hooper), fol 174: 'Sacramenta Christi ecclesiæ non sunt tantum notæ professionis Christianæ, nec tantum signa *efficacia* gratiæ, sed etiam gratiam illam, quam significant, virtute passionis et institutionis Christi, conferunt his qui non ponunt obicem. [This phrase is found in St Augustine, Ep. xxiii. who employs it with regard to infants, Ward, ubi sup. 45.]... Sacramentum novæ legis proprie dicitur, quod ita signum est gratiæ Dei et invisibilis gratiæ forma, vt ipsius imaginem gerat, et causa existat;' cf. Gardiner's 3rd Article.

ARTICLE XXVI.

(Included in Art. v. of 1538, p. 71; see also p. 104, and note, for its original application).

Consensus Tigurinus (Niemeyer, p. 210): 'De ministris hic non agitur, de quibus stulte olim dubitatum est, an eorum perfidia vel alia

quævis indignitas sacramenta vitiet. Nobis autem sanctior est Dei institutio, quam ut ejus vis ab hominibus pendeat.'

Council of Trent, A.D. 1547, Sess. VII. 'De Sacramentis,' can. xi.: 'Si quis dixerit in ministris dum sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia, anathema sit.'

ARTICLE XXVII.

(Cf. Art. II. of 1536, p. 52; Art. v. of 1538, p. 71; Art. XXVIII. of 1552, p. 104. For the strengthening of the language of 1552, respecting infants, see p. 127).

whereby, as by an instrument.] 'Bucerus in *Retract.* in Matth. agnoscit sacramenta recte dici *instrumenta*, organa et canales gratiæ.' Ward, ubi sup. 53. 'Diuerse good holy doctours haue taught as I sai by such places of Scripture, that God in the working of such clensing of the soule and infusion of grace, useth the sacramentes not as a *bare signe*, but as an *instrument* with whiche and by whiche it pleaseth hym to worke them.' *Sir Thomas More* (against Tindale), Works, I. 386. 'All these graces almighty God worketh by baptisme as by a peculiar *instrument* for that purpose in the hartes of all infants that by the church and in the faith of the church [*Gardiner* adds, fol. clix. b, *and of their parentes*] be offered to God and baptised, wher nothing of the infantes party doth stop the grace of the sacrament. But if he that is baptised be of age and discretion hauing the use of his reason, it is required necessarily of him before baptisme to haue faith and repent-aunce of his noughty living.' *Holsome and catholyke Doctryne* (Sermons by Thomas Watson, intruding bishop of Lincoln, 1557), fol. xii. 'Sunt enim sacramenta signa ac symbola visibilia rerum internarum et invisibilium, per quæ, *ceu per media*, Deus ipse virtute Spiritus Sancti in nobis operatur.' *Confess. Belgica*, Art. XXXIII.

The baptism of young children.] The *Reformatio Legum* speaks as follows: 'Deinde crudelis illorum impietas in baptismum irruit, quem infantibus impartiri nolunt, sed omnino nulla ratione. Nec enim minus ad Deum et ecclesiam pertinent Christianorum infantes, quam liberi quondam Hebræorum pertinebant, quibus in infantia cum circumcisio adhiberetur, nostris etiam infantibus debet baptismus admo-vari, quoniam ejusdem promissionis et foederis divini participes sunt, et a Christo sunt etiam summa cum humanitate suscepti.'

The *Lutheran* as opposed to the Calvinistic view of *infant* baptism will be seen in an extract from a series of *Articuli Visitatorii* (Francke, App. 119), where they condemn what they describe as the 'falsa et erronea doctrina Calvinistarum.'

The propositions thus selected for their censure are the following: (1) 'Baptismum esse externum lavacrum aquæ, per quod interna quædam ablutio a peccatis tantum significatur. (2) Baptismum non operari neque conferre regenerationem, fidem, gratiam et salutem, sed tantum significare et obsignare ista. (3) Non omnes, qui aqua baptizantur, consequi eo ipso gratiam aut donum fidei, sed tantum electos. (4) Regenerationem non fieri in vel cum baptismo, sed postea demum crescente ætate, imo et multis in senectute demum contingere. (5) Salutem non dependere a baptismo, atque ideo baptismum in causa necessitatis non permittendum esse in ecclesia, sed in defectu ordinarii ministri ecclesiæ permittendum esse, ut infans sine baptismo moriatur. (6) Christianorum infantes jam ante baptismum esse sanctos ab utero matris, imo adhuc in utero materno constitutos esse in fœdere vitæ æternæ, ceteroqui sacrum baptismum ipsis conferri non posse.' This limitation of baptism *to the children of the faithful* constantly appears in the 'Calvinistic' Confessions, *e.g.* *Zwinglii de Sacramentis*, apud Niemeyer, 25; *Gallic. Art.* xxxv.; *Belgic.* xxxiv. 'He secludeth the children of excommunicate persons and of professed papistes from the sacrament of baptisme, vntill they be able to make a confession of their fayth; which smelleth very strongely of Anabaptisme, and is a manifest error.' Whitgift's 'Table of the dangerous doctrines avouched by T. C.' prefixed to *The Defense*, ed. 1574: cf. Hales, *Letters from the Synod of Dort*, 22.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

(For the important changes to which that Article was subjected, see pp. 127, 134, and note).

Transubstantiation.] The *Reformatio Legum*: 'Obrepsit etiam in eucharistia periculosissimus error eorum qui docent, concionantur et contendunt, virtute certorum verborum quæ minister ad symbola hujus sacramenti insusurrat, panem converti vel (ut ipsi loquuntur) transubstantiari in Christi corpus, et itidem vinum in sanguinem. Quod sane dogma quoniam sacris literis adversatur, a natura sacramenti discrepat et verum Christi corpus ita depravat, ut vel divinam in illud inducat naturam omnibus locis diffusam [*cf. the paragraph of 1552, which was afterwards suppressed*], vel ex eo spectrum aut machinam quandam comminiscatur, totum hoc papisticæ fæcis somnium auferri volumus, et naturam veram panis et vini in eucharistiæ remanentem plane agnosci, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus apertis verbis attestatur. Itaque nec in altum tolli sacramentum hoc, nec circumferri per agros patimur, nec conservari in crastinum, nec adorari; denique nul-

lam relinquimus majorem eucharistiæ venerationem quam baptismi et verbi Dei.'

Heads of Religion, A.D. 1559: 'Cœna Dominica non est tantum symbolum mutuae benevolentiae Christianorum inter se, sed magis symbolum est nostræ redemptionis per Christi mortem et nostræ conjunctionis cum Christo. Ubi fidelibus vere datur et exhibetur, communio corporis et sanguinis Domini....Scholastica Transubstantiatio panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi probari non potest ex sacris literis.'

ARTICLE XXIX.

(First published in 1571; for its suppression till that period, see above, pp. 125, 139, and notes).

ARTICLE XXX.

(Added in 1562, p. 125: cf. Art. x. of 1559).

Gardiner, Sermon in 1548 (quoted by Mr Haweis, *Sketches*, 43): 'Where I said of the mass that it was a sacrifice ordained to make us the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion... the Parliament [*alluding to* 1 Edw. VI. c. 1] very well ordained mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the Parliament for moving the people more and more with devotion, to ordain that this sacrament should be received *in both kinds*;' cf. his 8th Article.

Council of Trent, July 16, 1562, Sess. XXI. can. 1.: 'Si quis dixerit ex Dei præcepto vel necessitate salutis omnes et singulos Christi fideles utramque speciem sanctissimi eucharistiæ sacramenti sumere debere, anathema sit.'

ARTICLE XXXI.

(Based on Augsburg Conf. Part II. Art. III. § 10; above, p. 105).

Bullinger, (Decad. p. 17, published 1550): 'Itaque relinquitur jam indubitatum Christum Dominum plenariam esse propitiationem, satisfactionem, hostiamque, ac victimam pro peccatis (pro pœna, inquam, et pro culpa) totius mundi, et quidem solam. Non est enim in alio quoquam salus.'

Cranmer, (Answer to Gardiner, 1551): 'This is the honour and glory of our High Priest wherein He admitteth neither partner nor successor. For by His own oblation He satisfied the Father for all men's sins, and reconciled mankind into His grace and favour....And as He dying once was offered for all, so as much as pertained to Him, He took all men's sins unto Himself.' See other passages asserting the *universality* of Christ's satisfaction, in *Laurence, Bampton Lect.* 299, 300,

The sacrifices of masses.] The *Reformatio Legum*, ibid. c. 10: 'Quorundam nimis est curiosa perversitas, qui veniam quidem peccatorum expectant, sed hanc morte Christi per solam fidem ad nos accommodatam plene non redunt et omnibus partibus impleri. Quapropter alia conquirunt sacrificia, quibus perpurgari possint, et ad hanc rem missas exhibent in quibus sacrificium Deo Patri credunt oblatum esse, nimirum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vere, quomodoque illi dicunt, realiter, ad veniam peccatorum impetrandam et salutem tam mortuorum quam vivorum procurandam; quibus etiam regnum tam latum dant ut illis aliquando minui, nonnunquam omnino tolli purgatorii tormenta statuunt;' cf. the 9th of the *Eleven Articles*.

Joliffe (against Hooper), fol. 189: 'Quod ad missam attinet recte eam dici arbitror repetitam commemorationem passionis et mortis Christi, in qua ille se obtulit pro peccatis totius mundi.'

ARTICLE XXXII.

(See above, p. 105, and note 2; and for the change this Article underwent in 1562, p. 127).

Heads of Religion: 'Celibatus nulli hominum statui præcipitur, neque injungitur ministris ecclesiæ ex verbo Dei.'

Joliffe (against Hooper), fol. 189 b: 'His qui non voverunt non est mandatum, neque enim pugnant Ordo et Matrimonium: cæterum iis qui se voto astrinxerunt, dicit Scriptura, redde vota.'

ARTICLE XXXIII.

(See above, p. 105).

Nowell, Catechismus, (p. 157. ed. 1572): 'In ecclesiis bene institutis atque moratis, certa, ut antea dixi, ratio atque ordo gubernationis instituebatur atque observabatur. Deligebantur seniores; id est magistratus ecclesiastici, qui disciplinam ecclesiasticam tenerent atque colerent. Ad nos autoritas, animadversio, atque castigatio censoria pertinebant: hii adhibito etiam pastore, si quos esse cognoverant qui vel opinionibus falsis, vel turbulentis erroribus, vel anilibus superstitionibus vel vita vitiosa flagitiosaque magnam publice offensionem ecclesiæ Dei adferrent, quique sine cœnæ Dominicæ profanatione accedere non possent, eos a communione repellebant, atque rejiciebant, neque rursum admittebant, donec pœnitentia publica ecclesiæ satisfecisset.'

ARTICLE XXXIV.

(Included in Art. v. of 1538: for its original aim, see p. 105, and note; for its modifications in 1562, pp. 126, 135: cf. Art. III. of 1559).

Heads of Doctrine: 'Quævis ecclesia particularis auctoritatem instituendi, mutandi et abrogandi ceremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos habet, modo ad decorem, ordinem et ædificationem fiat.'

Traditions of the Church] 'Colligimus hinc ecclesiasticorum (quos vocant) *traditiones* et leges, quibus fastum, divitias, honores, titulos legesque suas fulciunt et defendunt, causam esse omnis insanix; nam capiti Christo non consonant.' *Zwinglii Articuli*, § XI: Niemeyer, p. 5.

ARTICLES XXXV, XXXVI.

(For the indignation which these Articles excited among the Puritans, see above, pp. 201, 202. The object of the second clause in Art. XXXVI. has been explained already, p. 127, note 2).

ARTICLE XXXVII.

(For the original aim of this Article, see above, pp. 105, 106; and for its modification in 1562, p. 126).

Heads of Doctrine: 'Elizabetha regina Angliæ est unicus et supremus Gubernator hujus regni et omnium dominiorum et regionum suarum quarumcunque tam in rebus et causis ecclesiasticis quam temporalibus.... Romanus Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno, nec alia quæcunque potestas extranea.'

Gardiner, Sermon in 1548, as above; 'It is a marvellous thing that upon these words the Bishop of Rome should found his supremacy; for whether it be *super petram* or *Petrum*, all is one matter; it maketh nothing at all for the purpose to make a foundation of any such supremacy. For otherwise when Peter spake carnally to Christ (as in the same chapter a little following,) Satan was his name, where Christ said, "Go after me, Satan;" so that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy, but as it is said in Scripture, *Fundati estis super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum*, that is, by participation (for godly participation giveth name of things,) he might be called the head of the Church, as the head of the river is called the head, because he was the first who made this confession of Christ, which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the man.'

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

(See above p. 106).

Reformatio Legum, c. 14: 'Excludatur etiam ab eisdem Anabaptistis inducta bonorum et possessionum communitas, quam tantopere urgent, ut nemini quicquam relinquunt proprium et suum.'

ARTICLE XXXIX.

(See above p. 106).

Reformatio Legum, c. 15: 'Præterea nec juramentorum Anabaptistæ legitimum relinquunt usum, in quo contra Scripturarum sententiam et veteris Testamenti patrum exempla, Pauli etiam apostoli, imo Christi, imo Dei Patris, procedunt.'

THE END.

CHAPTER XXIV

(1890-1891)

The first of the two years mentioned above was a year of unusual activity in the study of the history of the United States. The first of the two years mentioned above was a year of unusual activity in the study of the history of the United States. The first of the two years mentioned above was a year of unusual activity in the study of the history of the United States.

THE END

Hardwick, Charles

A history of the Articles of Religion to which is added a series of documents, from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1615, together with illustrations from contemporary sources

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